Committee on Public Undertakings (Thirteenth Lok Sabha) on the following Public Undertakings: -

(i) National Textile Corporation (T N and P) Limited.

(ii) Export Credit Guarantee Corporation of India Limited.

(iii) National Fertilisers Limited.

(iv) Fertilizers and Chemicals Travaocore Limited.

(v) Kochi Refineries Limited.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The House is adjourned for lunch for one hour.

The House then adjourned for lunch at eight minutes past one of the clock.

The House re-assembled, after lunch, at ten minutes past two of the clock, [THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SURESH PACHOURI) in the Chair]

STATEMENT BY MINISTER AND DISCUSSION IN CONNECTION WITH TERRORIST ATTACK ON PARLIAMENT HOUSE ON THE 13™ DECEMBER, 2001 *-Contd.*

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU (West Bengal): Mr. vice-Chairman, Sir, we have been having this discussion on the statement made by the hon. Home Minister now for about seven hours, and before the lunch recess, we had the hon. Prime Minister intervening in the debate. Now the difficulty of speaking at this last stage is that one tends to get repetitive, and also the constraint is that the Members, particularly, from the Treasury Benches, are giving us unsolicited advice that we must not be acrimonious. I agree with them that the situation is such that one cannot be acrimonious on the issues concerned. But, I think, it is a very sad state of affairs that after the statement of the hon. Minister and after the interventions of some of the leading Members of the Treasury Benches on some of the issues, we are left with a greater sense of confusion than clarity. Therefore, what, I think, ought to be discussed by the Parliament today is I am not going to repeat what my leader and colleague, Shri Ramachandran PiHai, has already stated the question of unity. I go back to the Resolution which both these Houses adopted on Friday.There were three components in it. We condemned the attack; we put on record our condolence; we put on record our appreciation for those peopie who have laid down their lives and we also

made a resolve that the country must be united against terrorism. Now that is the common point from which, I think, we have to discuss and evolve an alternative plan of action which all of us have been talking about. Now, unfortunately, what we felt about the Prime Minister's intervention as a whole is that he was actually not throwing light on the entire sequence of events. Now, after having adopted that Resolution on Friday, during that extended week-end that we had, that is, Saturday, Sunday and Monday, there was no real attempt by the Government to initiate a process of consultation with all the parties. Now, if unity is our resolve and we want to unite everybody together to fight this menace, about which there are no two opinions, what is the logical first step?

And, therefore, what have we seen, even over these last three days? The concentration of the Government was to portray that somehow the Opposition was not behaving in the best interests of the country. In a parliamentary system, at any given point of time, unity is bome out of actions of the Government. The Opposition is there; the Government is there; it is for the Government of the day to initiate the process of unity. Day-in-and-day-out references are made to what happens in America and what happens in Britain. But then, you should also compare the kind of initiatives the Governments in those countries take to provide a united face to the whole world. When the whole question of security lapse came up, was it the Opposition that raised it? We were watching television. The shootout was over at 12.05. At half past two, we saw the Home Minister going on air in the electronic media saying that there was no security lapse. Why had this claim to be made? Why did the Government not have the self-assurance to talk about how the situation had to be faced? On the contrary, the claim that there was no security lapse came totally unsolicited. We have the record with us. The Home Minister and the Parliamentary Affairs Minister went on air claiming that there was no security lapse. The Opposition did not bring up the question of security lapse. We did not bring it up. Yes, we will bring up this question now because we are totally dissatisfied with the explanation of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister, maybe, for the first time I do not know whether he has given this explanation anywhere else; and, I was very carefully listening to him to know what the background was in which he said it at a meeting in Bombay on the 12th, had spoken about Parliament being a possible target of attack by terrorists. He refers to some committee's recommendation or some observation. But the fact of the matter is that on the 2nd of October, the Al Qaeda activist, Afroz, who made a submission before the court in camera

yesterday in Mumbai, was taken in by the Mumbai Police. And as soon as he was taken in, after interrogation, the Mumbai Police found that he was an Al Qaeda activist; he gave certain information about the Indian Parliament being a possible target of attack. The information was conveyed by the Maharashtra Government to the Government of India. Swamiji is sitting here and he is more informed that I am on all these things. In October, there was a letter from the Government of Maharashtra. In November, there was yet another letter from the Government of Maharashtra. But what do we see? On Wednesday, the hon. Home Minister, at an event organised by FICCI, assures the nation; he does not come to Parliament. When we are talking about a political and diplomatic offensive against the terrorists and against their possible connection with the Pakistanis, would our case become more credible or less credible before the international community if the statement by the hon. Home Minister was made on the floor of the House? I put this question to you. I leave it to the judgment of our friends on the Treasury Benches. This issue was raised in this House, not by me, I followed it up. The issue was raised by my good old friend, Shri Chaturvedi that this kind of a statement which gives vital information and which concerns the security of Parliament should be made on the floor of the House, and not in the FICCI event. You tell me what the reason was. Are we, the Members of the Opposition or the Members of this House more irresponsible than the industrialists who met in the FICCI event? Look at the sequence. On Wednesday, the statement was made by the Home Minister in the FICCI event; on Thursday, the Deputy Chief Minister of Maharashtra makes a *suo motu* statement in the Maharashtra Assembly, saying "I was specifically instructed by Advaniji not to make public this information. He asked me not to disclose this to public. Only when I saw that this has been shared by the Home Minister himself, am I making this *suo motu* statement in the Maharashtra Assembly in keeping with my constitutional responsibility." Thursday goes; Friday goes; there was no information in the House. On Monday, the Special Mention was made by Chaturvediji. I don't know why he has left now. *...(Interruptions)...* Oh! he has gone to that side. That is good. I recognise this as an approval of what I am saying.

SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI (Uttar Pradesh) : I am still to your right!

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: No, no; I recognise this as an approval or endorsement of what I am saying. I raised this question. We raised this question as to why the statement was not made on the floor of the House. The statement alone would have been a very good foundation for the

presentation of our case to the whole world. And we are legitimately outraged. We knew that this is happening and this is an *Al Qaeda* man. The bits and pieces of information that we have - it is known to everybody that the money which was taken by these people, who did the hijacking operation and some of the ransom cases, went to Mohammed Atta who was responsible for the 11th September terrorist strikes - all these could have been pieced together and by now we would have been ready with a very credible case before the international community. By not making that statement in the House not only the Home Minister did a serious breach of the convention and downgraded the role of this Parliament, but has actually weakened our case overall. It could have been strengthened much more by that statement. On the basis of that, we ask this legitimate question that after receiving this information for two months on - 2nd October, Afroz was taken in; the first letter of the Maharashtra.Government, if I am not wrong, was around the second week of October; and this incident took place on the I3m December - what were the initiatives taken by the Government. I want to know whether any new security drills were introduced in the process of Parliament security. If there were certain improvements and enhancements, well and good, but through our experience of every day coming to the Parliament House, since I9m of November when the Winter Session began, we, at least, did not see any change. Now, my friend, Shri Ravi Shankar Prasad and many other ministerial colleagues were eloquent over the electronic media explaining that there were a lot of changes. I think, we have to consult some opticians because there is some problem with our eyes that what is so eloquently argued in the electronic media, the entire Opposition misses out. *...(Interruptions)..A* don't know how I will have to take it - whether as a complement or something else. Having a bad eye, I don't know.

This is a very serious question. Sushmaji was eloquently arguing that there was no security lapse. Why? The argument is, they have not entered the Parliament House. We are hearing a newer interpretation in this. We thought that the Parliament House complex was one individual unit. You enter the Iron Gate, reach the Parliament building and there is a shoot-out. Yesterday, I saw 84 gunshot markings in the portico. To such an extent there was a shoot-out. Due to som& coincidental factors we are saved. Everybody knows this. Had the House not been adjourned, had the meeting not taken place in the Chairman's Chamber, had the Chairman's departure not been delayed by 20-25 minutes, had the security man of the Watch &

Ward, a great martyr, Jagadish Prasad Yadav, not chased them without any arms with him and physically engaging them--since they were forced to engage in the shoot-out outside the building, and rank unprofessionalism of the terrorists at times--the incident would have been different. They have not even wrapped the explosives they were carrying with them. We were saved because of these factors. If this is our great security system and we must only be proud about them, then, definitely, such things would recur.

So, the logical thing is to point out at those loopholes and see to it as to how they can be rectified and see to it that similar things are not repeated. That pointing out becomes anti-national and unpatriotic! I don't know since when the patriotism has become the monopoly of certain parties in this House. I never knew it. If there is a security lapse, if it is pointed out, would the heavens fall? If there are lapses, they have to be corrected. Pointing out is only, in a manner, rectifying it and strengthening the system. What can you say? I say, due to chance factors only we could survive and the Parliament House could survive and there was no greater catastrophe. We can't derive satisfaction on the point that we have survived without a greater catastrophe. We came to as closest as you can get to such a catastrophe. Therefore, I think, this is a very, very unhelpful attitude in forging the unity.

I go back to the Friday Resolution. That is the only operative part of the Resolution that we adopted unanimously in both the Houses. Both the Treasury Benches and we can help in translating the key element of that Resolution. What happened on Friday, immediately after the adoption of the Resolution? We were told outside the Parliament House of a peculiar development. For the first time, the BJP spokesperson informs the media that he was speaking on behalf of the Parliament Members belonging to the BJP. I have read a bit of the world Parliament history. All of us have read a bit of it. There are eminent legal and Constitutional luminaries in this House, who can speak with a greater degree of authority.

Mr. Nariman is there, Mr. Misra is there. Even my friend, Ravi Shankar Prasad knows better the law, the Constitution better. We understand that the Members of the Ruling Party are a part and parcel of the Government. I never found any distinction between the Members of the Ruling Party and the Government. The only difference I felt was that somebody is in the Council of Ministers and somebody is not. Our friends

from the Treasury Benches have to explain to us since this distinction has come about. Now, if I do something silly in Bengal, the State Government cannot say, "We have nothing to do with this man. He is acting on his own." The concept that the BJP Members were demanding the bombing of the PoK was giving a vent to the popular vote. What is the definition of political leadership? At hours of crisis, the people will be legitimately outraged. If they are not outraged, then there is something wrong with our society and then there with our processes. But the leaders are not supposed to follow the mob blindfolded. We are in a democracy. We are not a mobocracy. Therefore, the role of the political leadership is to channelise that outrage, that anger into avenues where we can effectively and appropriately respond to the kind of action that has taken place. Now whether we can go and attack the PoK is a question where a number of things have to be factored in. Now, to point out that this echoing, this whipping up of sentiments as done by the BJP is an irresponsible thing and nobody but the Government will be responsible for this, is unpatriotism, is an anti-national act. It is actually to point out this well-known principle of the functioning of the parliamentary democracy that Ruling Party Members are as much part of the Government as the Council of Ministers. Where have we committed the mistake, you tell us? You go and shout from the rooftops 'hot pursuit' 'there is an end of tolerance' Yes, this is outrageous and we are doing what we can do. What was the first thing to be done? This is a criminal act, not just on the State of India. It is an act directed against the people of India, against the civil society of India. Therefore, we are collecting hard evidence. It is clear from Pakistan's response that they also cannot answer the question. On the one hand, President Musharraf said, "I condemn that act." On the other hand, the same evening his spokesman Major General Quereshi was saying that the Indian Government had done this to belittle and to downgrade the freedom struggle that was being fought in Kashmir. Now, this statement itself makes clear the vulnerability of the Pakistani position. Now, by taking advantage of this, we have to collect all the evidences and unleash a diplomatic offensive. Of all the options that the Government, the Prime Minister, is now talking about, why was only this option of attacking the PoK was articulated by the BJP Members? Will somebody tell us? What was the intention? Of the several options available why was this option was singled out by the BJP? Was it not to whip up a mass hysteria? These are the political questions which have to be answered. I am totally surprised at the Prime Minister's outburst against America. I have before me the entire proceedings of the debate that

we had for over three days on Afghan issue. While pointing out America's historic role, the Prime Minister had gone to the extent of almost proving me that I am an anti-national and the Left parties are supportive of terrorists. Was this my fault?

SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI: He had gone only to the ideological root.

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: No. We knew that. And, what Shri Jaswant Singhji had said? He said, "We were advised, 'don't trust the U.S.A.. Today they will be with you, tomorrow they will abandon you. This is a country not to be persuaded by your national interests. I appeal to the hon. Members to base the foreign policy neither on nostalgia..."we were nostalgic about the good old days of Pandit Nehru" nor on prejudice" Because we are a Left Party, naturally, we are branded as anti-America "We are dealing with the reality of today. We must deal with the reality on the fundamentals. When nations act on the persuasion of their national interests, India would determine all the issues on the basis of its national interests." So, why are you crying now over an unsolicited piece of advice that General Collin Powell has given to the Government of India? You by your own actions, have brought your self-esteem to this level that anybody and everybody can afford to give you lectures as to what to do and what not to do. At least, you do not blame the Opposition on that account. Who is to be held responsible? Please tell us, who is responsible for complete loss of self-respect of this country *vis-a-vis* America. You have to reply to these questions. And, America is a factor that cannot be wished away. You tell us about it everyday. We don't tell. Therefore, we feel, today, there is a situation in the world and in the country that BJP itself has become a prisoner of its own rhetoric. It raised a hysteria that the attack must be launched immediately. It cannot wriggle out now; though it understands wiser counsel has now come to prevail. Similarly, America can also be made a prisoner of its own rhetoric because it is the Americans who have been saying that the fight against terrorism will not confine to Afghanistan, but will be fought wherever it exists. And, today, as never before, the connection between Lashker-e-Taiba and ISI, between Jaish-e-Mohammad and ISI and the contradictory statements of General Pervez Musharaff and by Major General Kureshi are as clear as day light. Therefore, we can mount a diplomatic offensive on the entire international community, particularly the United States of America by asking, "Now, you redeem your pledge. You owe this to the whole world. You are the only surviving superpower. So, act according to the commitment that you had

made when you were launching this global coalition against the terrorism." Unfortunately, the hon. Leader of the House, Shri Jaswant Singhji, who is very, I mean, how to say...

SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI: Suave and decisive.

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Yes; suave and decisive. You can supply all the adjectives for him in terms of dealing with the Americans. I think it wiH not be unfair on my part if I expect that he will deliver the goods for this country once and for all. He will effectively put pressure on America and on Pakistan, who are also part of the global coalition against terrorism to close down all these activities.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SURESH PACHOURI): Please conclude now.

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Sir, I will wind up in just two minutes. So, you are very unfair to the Opposition when you are saying, 'you are not united.' We are there with all these ideas on how we can more effectively and more appropriately respond. Shri Vajpayeeji led a delegation to the United Nations when Shri Narasimha Rao's Government was in power. Now, in making the offensive more credible, you can have people from different parties, different walks of life, those who are not with the Government, to plead this solid case before the international community. Finally, I think it is very important that we should maintain the unity of the people because the Prime Minister was very eloquent on the nature of our Constitution - how secular it is; that there is no discrimination on the basis of religious persuasion. I am very surprised, but, at the same time, I welcome that formulation in paragraph 9 of the statement made by the Home Minister. He says, "The only answer that satisfactorily addresses this query is that Pakistan - itself a product of the indefensible Two-Nation Theory, itself a theocratic State with an extremely tenuous tradition of democracy - is unable to reconcile itself with the reality of a secular, democratic, self-confident and steadily progressing India..." Now, are the advocates of Two-Nation Theory limited to only across the border? Within the country, there are no advocates of Two-Nation Theory? So, if we have to fight the advocates of the Two-Nation Theory across the border, I think, there are enough forces within the country as well who subscribe to the Two-Nation Theory. Therefore, this statement of the Home Minister would be assuming any degree of credibility if we fight the people who subscribe to the Two-Nation Theory inside the country also. I know, Sir, why are you

looking at me. I am just concluding. There is a report that the Vishwa Hindu Parisha^ is going for a new round of campaign. When the newspapers interviewed Acharya Giriraj Kishore, Vice-President of the VHP, he reacted saying, "It is for the Muslims to decide. However, since the Muslims are Hindu converts, they should own up to their past heritage. Why can't they accept Ram and Hindu heritage? Bharat and the United States have tried to separate Islam from *Jehad.* But, unfortunately, the entire Muslim world had been supporting the terrorists." You tell me, when the people are indulging in this politics, in this rhetoric, are they, in any way, securing the unity of the people and the unity of the country that we talked about in the resolution we passed on Friday? I oppose the POTO tooth and nail. I oppose POTO. But, I think, this also comes under the purview of the POTO. If the POTO is to be invoked against the terrorists, it has to be similarly invoked against all those people who are spreading this poison. *...(Interruptions)...*

SHRI SHARIEF-UD-DIN SHARIQ (Jammu and Kashmir) : The POTO is not for the mad people. *...(Interruptions)...*

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: The POTO does not distinguish on the basis of mental health. The POTO is not a human being which can take into cognizance the state of your mental health. I do not agree with this prescription that these people are mad people. This is an ideological position that these Two-Nation theorists in this country have been perpetuating since the establishment of the RSS in this country. You see all the writings of Golwalker and Hedegwar. This theory is there.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SURESH PACHOURI): Please conclude. *...(Interruptions)...* Please conclude. *...(Interruptions)...*

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Therefore, if you are sincere about the unity of *...(Interruptions)...*

श्री राजीव रंजन सिंह ' ललन' (**बिहार**) : नक्सलवाद नक्सल के साथ क्या रिश्ता है ?

श्री निलोत्पल वसु : क्या ? नक्सल के साथ क्या रिश्ता है । **...** (**व्यवधान**) ...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (**श्री सुरेश पचौरी**) : समय बहुत कम है । कृपया समाप्त करें । ...(**व्यवधान**)...

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL (Bihar) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we should not name those persons who are not present in this House. We may disagree with them. But it is not appropriate to call somebody mad. I think it should be deleted from the record. *...(Interruptions)...*

SHRI SHARIEF-UD-DIN SHARIQ: Why? I have not named anybody. *...(Interruptions)...*

SHRi T.N. CHATURVEDI : I am talking historically. In 1947, there was a party, the United Communist Party, which was the supporter of the Two-Nation Theory. I am not saying you are doing it today...*(Interruptions)...*

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: I think that is..*(interruptions)...*

श्रीमती सरला माहेश्वरी (**पश्चिमी बंगाल**) : क्या इतिहास की बात कर रहे हैं आप ? ... (**व्यवधान**) ... जोशीजी का इतिहास नहीं जो इतिहास है उसको पढ़ाइये । . . . (**व्यवधान**) . . .

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRJ SURESH PACHOURI): Please conclude now. *...l/nterruptions)...*

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Sir, I am concluding. *..{Interruptions)...*

श्री राजीव रंजन सिंह ललन : और मसला नही है क्या ? . . . (**व्यवधान**) . . .

श्री रवि शंकर प्रसाद (बिहार) अच्छा बोल रहे थे आप । . . . (**व्यवधान**). . .

श्रीमती सरला माहेश्वरी : आत्म आलोचना करेंगे तो बहुत चीजें समझ में आ जाएंगी । . . . (**व्यवधान**) . . .

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: I don't want to score a debating point. I am seriously saying that for maintaining unity at this very crucial juncture these kinds of references about Muslims should not be made. After all, they constitute about 14 per cent of our population. *...(Interruptions)...* Mr. Prime Minister...*(Interruptions)...*

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI SURESH PACHOURI) : Let him finish. *...(Interruptions)...*

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: And, therefore, *...(Interruptions)...* I don't know why the Prime Minister was so surprised to hear that the Muslims and other minorities in this country are so afraid in this situation. He should be reading the reports about what the VHP is talking about. Therefore, Mr. Vice Chairman, Sir, I conclude *by...(Interruptions)...*

SHRI RAJIV RANJAN SINGH 'LA. 'NT- You created such a situation. *...(Interruptions)...*

श्री नीलोत्पल बसु :यह अच्छा हुआ, आखिर में आपका रंग क्या है, यह बता दिया है सब लोगों को । मैं सिर्फ विनम्रता से सरकार से अपील करता हूं कि इस संकट की घडी में हम एकतावद्ध भारतवर्ष देखना चाहते हैं और हमारी जो- जो ताकत है, जो-जो हैसियत है, उस हिसाब से यह एकता बनाने और निर्माण की प्रक्रिया में भी हम भाग लेना चाहते हैं । लेकिन हम सरकार

को निष्पक्ष ढ़ंग से बताना चाहतेहैं कि वह जो गलती कर रही है उस गलती को नजर अंदाज न करते हुए उनके खिलाफ भी सख्त कार्यवाही करनी चाहिये और पूरे देश को विश्वास में लेते हुए कारगर कदम उठाना चाहिये, यही पूरा देश हम सब लोगों से मांग कर रहा है। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात खत्म कर रहा हूं। धन्यवाद।

SHRI K.M. SAIFULLAH (Andhra Pradesh) : Sir, on behalf of myself, and my Party, I condemn the cowardly attack by the cowardly terrorists on our Parliament. I am happy that all the political parties, including the Congress, the CPI, and the CPI (M), have condemned the terrorists' attack which took place on 13th December, 2001. I extend my heart-felt consolations to the members of the bereaved families who lost their lives. They sacrificed their lives and killed the terrorists. They have kept up the respect of the Indian Parliament and have also saved the lives of the MPs, the Ministers and the staff here. But, unnecessarily, some little controversy is being raised in this Parliament. A similar attack took place in America. They don't believe in discussions and debates. Here, we are discussing everything without doing any work.

It appeared in newspapers that there was a security lapse. My friend also said that there was a security lapse. But I say that there was absolutely no security lapse. The security forces immediately shot down all the terrorists and saved Parliament, and also the lives of MPs. Of course, some error might have been there. After all, we are all human beings. A human error might have been there. But, some error will be there. After all, to err is human. Some human error will be there. A doubt is coming in the minds not only of the MPs but also of everybody in India or in the world as to how the terrorists entered the premises of the Parliament House. They might not have been noticed because of that label which was pasted on that car; because they all were in police uniforms; because of that red light which was installed at the top of the car. But, the moment they entered the Parliament House, our Police and Armed Forces immediately shot them down. We should not point towards the little lacunae on the part of the security forces. Instead, we should encourage our people and should unitedly face this challenge. The need of the hour is unity among ail political parties. Therefore, I would like to suggest, let. us stop criticising these things. We must fight together. In addition to this, r would suggest that we may or we may not take the help of America, but we should learn some lesson from America on how it dealt with Taliban people in Afghanistan. Though it is a mighty country, how nicely it managed to pocket Pakistan; how it silenced the mouth of President Pervez Musharaff by giving some

money and kept him aside. Again, America knew that it cannot fight with the Taliban people by itself alone. It gave arms and ammunition to the Northern Alliance; it, successfully rpade use of the Northern Alliance to fight against terrorism and finally achieved its goal. And, they did not stop at this. They even got the moral support of all the Muslim countries of the world. Its officers made a visit to all the Muslim countries of the world so that there is no outbreak of jehad or holy war. Its officials also told them that Islam never preached violence. It also told them that Osama Bin Laden had destroyed all those things. Therefore, they should not support terrorism. Preaching all these things, successfully, they have been able to curb the Taliban people. That is the *modus operandi* which is needed to curb the terrorism here. Levelling allegations and launching counter attacks at each other will not solve the problem of terrorism in India. Do you know how the Britishers managed to rule in India? They could do so because of their "Divide and Rule Policy". They divided Muslim and Hindu communities and successfully carried on their rule in India. When, after a very long time, we came together, we adopted the slogan of Hindu-Muslim Bhai Bhai, and sent all the Britishers out of India and got the Independence. We must learn some lessons from our past experiences. We should learn how to terrorise the terrorists. We must take all those instances into account. I am sorry to see some reports in the papers casting suspicion on the *bona fides* of the Indian Muslims, just because the terrorists were Muslims. Just because the terrorists were Muslims, we cannot suspect the *bona fides* of the Muslims. Sir, it hurts us.

The second point that I would like to make is this. One of the hon. Members referred a book which said all Talibans are Muslims. All right. Even Northern Alliance people are also Muslims. Are they not Muslims? Therefore, we should not name any community. Terrorists do not have any caste or creed. The hon. Prime Minister also categorically mentioned about the attack on Shri Farooq Abdullah, Was Shri Farooq Abdullah not a Muslim? Why the terrorists chose Shri Farooq Abdullah? So, I would say that terrorists do not have any caste or creed. So, Sir, what I want to say is that attributing it to a particular community is always wrong. There are good people and bad people in every community. All right; Mahatma Gandhi was murdered; he was assassinated. Who assassinated him? One non-Muslim person -had assassinated him. We never named that so and so Hindu had. murdered Mahatma Gandhi. We never attributed any caste or community to it. In such case, why do you attribute this incident to a particular community? Mrs. Indira Gandhi was assassinated by a Sikh. We

never said that all the Sikhs are bad. But you have attributed terrorists to a particular religion. My submission is, let us fight against the terrorists collectively and curb terrorism. That must be *our modus operandi,* and not accusing each other. First of all, set right our house, get the confidence of all the communities, get the confidence of all the political parties, sit together, and then take a decision. In the House, everybody is saying, "Come on, we will fight. We will cross the LoC." Am I going to cross the LoC? Shri CM. Ibrahim said yesterday that all Muslims should go and cross the LoC. People are laughing. Can we go and fight there? My submission is, have some patience, have some collectiveness, let us sit together as to how this problem can be solved. I can only say that any decision taken in sudden provocation is always going to be wrong. But the only thing that is to be done is, get the confidence of all the countries around the world. Send some people and have a talk with the Americans and the Britishers. You can say, 'you are talking and preaching all these days about the Anti-Terrorism Act.' You can ask them : "what is your reply to what has happened to our Parliament?" You can put all these things to them. You can take them into confidence. But if they do not support us, then let us take a decision regarding 'Do or die'; we will all support you. But, it should not be a hasty decision. When the terrorists attacked America, though it is a mighty country, it had gone all around the world and convinced the whole world about its situation. You can also go to some other countries. You can now go to America; you can go to the United Kingdom. You can tell them, "you all had collectively curbed the Talibans. We are very happy about it. Why can't you support us and do the same thing?" You can put all these things before them. Sir, my only suggestion is that attributing any act to a single community is always a bad thing to do; we are all one. My friend, the CPI(M) leader, Shri Nilotpal Basu was saying that some newspapers have quoted that all the Muslims in India must be converted. We are not worried about that. We do not care about all these types of statements, and we are not so wicked in India. We are determined to do or die for India. But, we will be loyal to the Indian nation. We will definitely be loyal to the Indian nation. But we are not afraid. We are born to die. We are not going to be apprehensive about something that is written in the newspapers. Sir, my friend, Shri CM. Ibrahim was saying, "Oh, come on, all Muslims will go and fight there." Why? All this type of talking will not serve the purpose. Sir, General Chowdhury is here. He briefed me about this during the lunch hour. Rajput Regiment is there, Rajput Rifles is there, Jammu & Kashmir Regiment is there and Madras

3.00 p.m.

Regiment is there. In this pocket, most of the soldiers belong to the Muslim community. You send them to fight against these dreaded terrorists. They will not betray our county. You test them. At this stage, why should the common man go and fight against the terrorists? You send them. You make use of these people. You test their *bona fides.* You have got every right to send them to fight against terrorists. So my submission is, let us be united, and let us not take any decision on the basis of provocative speeches. Of course, I wanted to ask the Prime Minister of India, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee to clarify about the statements which have appeared in the newspapers. But before I could ask him, - he has got a mature mind; he is a very good politician -- he has clarified it in two senses. He has got the confidence of the Congress Party by mentioning about the telephone calls that he received from Smt. Sonia Gandhi in this context. The Government is happy because it is receiving the support of all the parties. The Prime Minister had also mentioned about *'Alpsankhayak'.* He said that minorities need not be afraid; they need not be apprehensive; we are all together. This message has been carried to the whole of India, and people will be happy. I would like to say that these types of statements which had appeared in the newspapers, to which Shri Basu had referred, would not have any impact. ... *(Time Bell)...* Sir, I will take just five minutes more. So, have faith in these people. Before I conclude my speech, I want to say that in our State of Andhra Pradesh, our Chief Minister, Shri Chandrababu Naidu, is giving crores of rupees to the minority people in the form of grant-in-aid to construct mosques, *shaadi khaanas* and other things to win over their confidence.

Today morning, our Telugu Desam Parliamentary Party decided that we will donate one month's salary to the families of the security personnel who have laid down their lives. In this connection, we are going to write to the Pay and Accounts Officer of the Secretariat to debit our salaries for this purpose. On the 14th December, 2001 also in the Chamber of our Deputy Chairman, Dr. Najma Heptulla, I had raised this issue, "Why shouldn't the House take a unanimous decision to donate one month's salary to the families of the security personnel who have laid down their Hues." In fact, this will carry a tot of weight. It will boost the courage of the Army personnel. In future also they will volunteer to fight against terrorism. We can have good time. Thank you.

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र (उत्तर प्रदेश) : धन्यवाद , उपसभाध्याक्ष जी । महोदय , इस संसद भवन पर दो बार आदमी का लहू बहा है । एक बार गौ हत्या विरोधी आंदोलन के साधु लोग और जनसंघ के लोग संसद के गेट को फांदने लगे थे । उस समय प्रर्दशन गेट नंबर एक तक हुआ करता था । वह इंदिरा जी का जमाना था । जब वे लोग गेट फांदने लगे तो लाठियां , गोलियां चलीं और बहुत लोग मर गए थे । उस चौराहे पर लॉर्ड इरविन की मूर्ति थी । उस समय देश के गृह मंत्री गुलजारी लाल नंदा जी थे और इंदिरा जी प्रधान मंत्री थीं । इंदिरा जी ने गुलजारी लाल नंदा जी को गृह मंत्रालय से हटा दिया था । महोदय , बहुत से लोग बोल रहे थे कि यह संसद भवन हमारा गुरुद्वारा है , हमारी गिरजा है , हमारी मस्जिद है और हमारा मंदिर है । मैं नही चाहता कि संसद जो कि देश की जनता का गुरुद्वारा है , मंदिर है या मस्जिद है, वहां इंसान का खून गिरे । इंदिरा जी ने उस समय के गृह मंत्री से इस्तीफा ले लिया था और बडे वाले चव्हाण साहब को नया गृह मंत्री बना दिया था । अब आदमी का लहू फिर बहा है । उस समय तो संसद के बाहर बहा था और वह एक नजीर बन गया । आदमी का लहू फिर बहा है । मैं विरोधी होने के नाते नहीं , उस नजीर के नाते कहना चाहता हूं कि वह लोकतंत्र की नजीर थी , लेकिन अब आप ने हम से कह दिया कि एकता दिखाओ । एकता तो दिखाएंगे , लेकिन यह नजीर बन चुकी है कि कौन जिम्मेदार है । विरोधी पक्ष के लोगों ने बार -बार आप पर आरोप लगाया कि वह भीतर कैसे आए । आप अपनी तरफ से सफाई दे रहे हैं कि कोई भी आ सकता है । यह तो ढ़ीला-ढ़ाला सा जवाब है । आज भी हम देख रहे हैं कि आप ने खाकी वर्दी के सिपाही विजय चौक के इधर खडे कर दिए हैं । यह लोकतंत्र है , आप उन की वर्दी तो बदल दीजिए । यह देखने में फूहड लगता है । उपसभाध्यक्ष जी , उस समय जब गोली चली थी तो उस के बाद गृह मंत्रालय की तरफ से हुक्म हो गया कि पटेल चौक के इधर जुलूस नहीं आएगा । फिर जब पटेल चौक पर सोशलिस्टों ने हल्ला- गुल्ला किया तब यह हो गया कि रामलीला मैदान और लाल किले के इधर जुलूस नहीं आएगा । समहोदय , यह जनता की प्रतिनिधि संस्था , अपने देश की सर्वोच्च संस्था जनता से ही डर रही थी । आज भी यह चैलेंज चल रहा है । अगर गृह राज्य मंत्री होते तो मैं यह गृह मंत्री के यहां खबर भिजवाता ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी , सुबह सुषमा जी बोल रही थीं । वह अच्छा बोलती हैं और लगता है कि कविता कर रही हैं ।

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : आज तो उन्होंने बहुत पाठ पढ़ाया ।

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र : नहीं , कविता कर रही थीं । उन्होंने कहा कि हम लोग डरे नहीं थे , कोई नही डर रहा था, सैंट्रल हाल में नहीं डर रहा था ,भीतर नहीं डर रहा था । फिर उन्होंने सुब्रह्मण्यम जी की एक कविता की लाइन सुनाई । बडा अच्छा लगा सुनने में कि निडर बनो , निडर बनो ,निडर बनो, तीन बार कहा । हमको याद है , बचपन में जब मैं स्कूल पढ़ने जाता था तो हमारी दादी कहती थी कि अगर कोई अंधेरा बगीचा मिले या भुतहा बगीचा मिले तो हनुमान चालीसा पढ़ने लगना । यह सुब्रह्मण्यम भारती जी की कविता का निडर बनो , और हमारी दादी का कहना कि हनुमान चालीसा पढ़ने लगना , इससे तुम्हें डर नहीं लगेगा , भूत भाग जाएगा , लेकिन डर लगताहै । हम क्यों डरपोक बन गए कि हनुमान चालीसा पढ़ने की जरुरत पडी । मानव स्वभाव है और आतंकवाद होता ही इसीलिए है, वह किसी को मारने के लिए नहीं होता , आतंकवाद का मकसद ही यही होता है कि दूसरे आतंकित हो जाएं । इस बात को दिमाग में रखें कि जो आतंकवादी दूसरे को आतंकित नहीं करता , उसको टाइटेररिस्ट कहते हैं और आतंकवाद कमोवेश हर आदमी के स्वभाव में होता है । यह एक इविल है , एक बुराई है ।

[**उपसभापति महोदया पीठसीन हुई**]

उपसभापति महोदया , आतंकवाद संगठित हो गया है अफगानिस्तान और कश्मीर में , लेकिन मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि क्या चीन में कोई आतंकवाद फैलाता है , क्या कोई रुस में भी आतंकवाद फैलाता है या यूरोप के देश में यह आतंकवादी क्यों नहीं जाते ? क्योंकि वहां जो सरकारें चल रही हैं , उनके राज्य का इकबाल काम करता है । यह आतंकवाद अमरीका में चला गया और यह इसलिए कि वहां का इकबाल कम हो गया था , वहां के लोग समझते थे कि केवल पैसा कमाना ही हुकूमत करना है । हमारे यहां राज्य का इकबाल कमजोर पड़ गया । हमारे यहां लोग डरते वरते नहीं । इंदिरा जी नंदा जी से मजबूत प्रधानमंत्री थीं । उन्होंने गुलजारी लाल नंदा को हटा दिया था । अटल जी आडवाणी जी से मजबूत प्रधानमंत्री नहीं हैं , यह हटा नहीं सकते । यही राज्य का इकबाल था ।

उपसभापति महोदया , लोगों को मालूम है कि कोई कार्यवाही नहीं होगी । इधर से बार बार कहा गया कि सख्त से सख्त कार्यवाही करें, हम आपके साथ में हैं । मैं जानता हूं, कि आप कोई कार्यवाही नहीं करेंगे । मैं माननीय प्रधानमंत्री जी को बहुत धीरज के साथ सुन रहा था । उन्होंने साफ कहा कि युद्ध ही कोई रास्ता नहीं है ।साफ कहा था, हम लड़ेंगे नहीं । कई लोग कहते हैं कि मालिक ही इजाजत नहीं देगा, कोई नहीं लड़ेगा । पता नहीं, यह मालिक कहां से आ गया? मैं नहीं जानता, लेकिन आज जब मैंने सुना तो मैं समझ गया । यह एकता किस बात के लिए है, जो हम सप्रदर्शित करते हैं? इसलिए कि जो हमारा सम्मान बिगड़ा है, जो राष्ट्र का अपमान हुआ है, उस सम्मान को वापिस दिलाने के लिए एकता प्रदर्शित की जाती है और जब एकता प्रदर्शित की जाती है तो नेतृत्व में दृढ़ता और संकल्प-शक्ति देखी जाती है। मुझे दुख के साथ कहना पडता है कि पूरा का पूरा संसद सारे मामलों को छोड़कर, तहलका वाला मामला छोड़कर, कफन वाला मामला छोड़ कर एक हुआ और सब भूल गए . . . (**व्यवधान**) . . .

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : पोटो वाला भी ।

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र : पोटो वाला मामला नहीं भूलें हैं, वह अपनी जगह पर है । उस पर हम लोग आएंगे, उस सवाल पर यहां एकता नहीं दिखाई देगी । उसे हम बाद में उभारेंगे । तो मैं कह रहा था कि सारे मामले छोडकर हम कह रहे हैं कि हम तुम्हारे साथ हैं, लकिन आपकी संकल्प-शक्ति एक लाइन से जाहिर हो गई कि युद्ध ही कोई तरीका नहीं है, और भी तरीके ढूंढ़े जा रहे हैं ।

महोदया, अटलजी कवि आदमी हैं । अगर कविता सुनाने से आतंवाद खतम हो जाता तो वह सबसे आसान तरीका था । क्या बहुत से चोर, बहुत से अपराधी किसी की बांसुरी सुनकर अपना अपराध छोड़ सकते हैं? अगर अटलजी की कविता से आतंकवाद खतम हो सकता है तो कभी का हो जाता । जब यह घटना हुई तो मैं डर रहा था कि जार्ज बुश साहब को चिट्ठी तो नहीं लिख दी गई क्योंकि कश्मीर की असेम्बली पर जब आतंकवादियों ने हमला किया था तो उस समय जल्दी में चिट्ठी लिख दी गई थी । एक ही लाइन लिखी जाती है, जो मैं चार-पांच बार पढ़ चुका हूं, कि बर्दाश्त की सीमा के बाहर बात जा रही है । मैं एकता जाहिर करते हुए इतना ही कहूंगा, बहुत ही नम्रता के साथ कि जो बार –बार बर्दाश्त के बाहर की किसी घटना को झेलता रहता है, तो उसके झेलने को निर्लज्जता कहा जाता है, इसके अलावा कुछ नहीं कहा जाता । हम तो कार्रवाई करेंगे नहीं, राष्ट्र तो कार्रवाई कार्रवाई करेगा नहीं लेकिन हमरी हरकतें जो हुआ करती हैं, उन पर हमको गौर करना चाहिए ।

सुरक्षाकर्मियों को, जो शहीद हो गए , सब लोगों ने चाहे वे सत्ता पक्ष के हों या विपक्ष के हों, सब लोंगों ने अपनी श्रद्धांजली दी, उनकी तारीफ मैं भी कर रहा हूं लेकिन जानते हैं उनमें मरमराहट क्या है ? उनसे कभी बात की गई, दो सुरक्षाकर्मी लोहिया अस्पताल में दम तोड़ चुके हैं,जो घायल थे और तीन की हालत गंभीर है, वे कहते हैं कि जिनको हम बचाने की कोशिश करते हैं, वे तो 'अपोलो ' जाते हैं, 'एम्स' जाते हैं और हमारी जिन्दगी खतरे में पडी है, हमको लोहिया अस्पताल में भेज दिया गया है । वे मुम्बई इलाज कराने के लिए जाते हैं । इंसान की जिन्दगी कौन सी कीमती है और कौन सी कम कीमती है, कभी सरकार . . . (समय की घंटी) . . .

उपसभापति : मुझे खाली एक ऐनाऊंसमेंट करना था इसलिए मैंने घंटी बजाई । निर्णय यह हुआ है लीडर्स के बीच में कि 5:00 बजे रिप्लाई हो जाएगी और उसके बाद हाऊस साइन-ई-डाई ऐडजार्न होगा क्योंकि लोक सभा भी आज साइन-ई-डाई ऐडजार्न हो रही है और मेरे पास सूची में बहुत से नाम हैं । Every Member, who has given his name, at least, would like to express his sentiments for three minutes or five minutes. That is why I request you to conclude your speech. So, if you can conclude your speech right now, I can call some other speaker, आप बहुत अच्छा बोलते हैं, मगर समय की कमी है ।

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र :मैडम मैं बहुत जल्दी खत्म कर देता हूं, मैं आपका हुक्म मानने वाला छोटा सा सिपाही हुं । तो उनमें यह मरमराहट है । कभी हम लोग सोचेंगे कि हम उनकी बहादुरी की तारीफ तो कर रहे हैं , लेकिन अपने आचरण से, अपने व्यवहार से उनके साथ क्या कर रहे हैं । यह पीड़ा उनकी है । हमने दस लाख , पांच लाख रुपया तो दे दिया उनके परिवार वालों को , लेकिन उसके बाद भी कहीं हमारे व्यवहार में कमीं रह गई जिससे उनको लग रहा है कि हमारे इलाज का माकूल इंतजाम नहीं हुआ है । ...(व्यवधान)... मैंने अस्पताल का स्पष्ट किया तो कह रहे हैं कि छोटी बात है । मैं इतना ही कहूंगा कि सरकार उनके इलाज का ठीक इंतजाम करे क्योकि इसमें कडी भाषा बोलने की गुंजाइश नहीं रह जाती है । वे कहते है कि मुम्बई से लेकर 'अपोलो' तक बडे लोग जाते हैं और हम गरीब लोग यहां 'लोहिया अस्पताल 'में ही आते हैं और सच यह है कि जनता भी इसको देखती रहती है । मैं गया था, ईद के मौके पर मैं घूम रहा था हिन्दुओं के मोहल्ले में । कुछ सड़क छाप लड़के चौराहे पर , पान- बीडी खाने वाले , जो बहुत बोलते हैं आजकल चौराहे पर , बोल रहे थे । देश बदला है , हमारा जमाना तो नहीं रह गया है , ज्यादा ही बोलते हैं सब । एक जगह हम भी खडे हो गए तो एक लडके ने कहा कि पंडित जी , इतना बडा हादसा , एक भी एम.पी. नहीं । आप समझते हैं कि देश ने राहत की सांस ली है । देश चाहता है कि जिनको हमने चुनकर भेजा , जो हमारे भाग्य का निर्माण करते हैं , कभी आफत आए तो वे कुर्बानी में भी दिखाई पडें । यह सच है कि इधर अखबार छाप रहा है कि वाजपेयी जी को निशाना बनाया गया था , पहले छपा था आडवाणी जी को निशाना बनाया गया । गृह मंत्रालय के बारे में क्या कहूं, कडी बात बोलनी नहीं चाहिए । शुरू में यहां के पुलिस आयुक्त ने कहा कि 6 लोग हैं, 5 लोग मार गिराए गए हैं । तीन दिन तक यह बात चलती रही । पूरी दिल्ली में और संसद के इर्द-गिर्द का इलाका, साउथ ब्लॉक,नार्थ ब्लॉक से लेकर जामा मस्जिद और चांदनी चौक तक लोग घबराए रहे कि एक बच गया है पता नहीं किधर आ जाए, पता नहीं क्या कर दे । एक अफसर ने बयान दिया था । तीन दिन बाद आडवाणी जी ने बयान दिया कि नहीं , 5 ही थे । लगता है कि गृह मंत्रालय को 5 , 6 या 7 तक की गिनती भी नही आती है । वह बात, जो एक

बार बोलनी चाहिए थी, कई बार बोली गई । यह मैं इसलिए कह रहा हूं कि तीन दिनों तक हम दहशत में रहे, रात भर दरवाजा बंद करके सोए, अपने घर में खिड़की की चिटकनी लगाकर सोए, जो हम कभी नहीं लगाया करते ।लोगों ने कहा कि आप चिटकनी लगा लेना । हमने पूछा कि क्या बात है तो उन्होंने कहा कि एक बचा है । हमको बडी चोट पहुंची थी । आपके पुलिस के बडे अधिकारी ने एक आदमी को पकडा और कल प्रैस कान्फ्रेंस कर के कहा कि इसी के घर पर यह सारा प्रोग्राम बना था । कोई वारदात होगी, उसके बाद ही कोई पकडा जाएगा ? यह पुलिस विभाग और गृह मंत्रालय इसलिए हुआ करता है कि वारदात से पहले इनको पकडा जाए लेकिन यह हो नहीं पा रहा है ।

यह सच है कि आपको मौका मिला है कि " पोटो " पेश करेंगे लेकिन अब तो हमने मैडम से सुन लिया है कि सत्रावसान हो रहा है, अगर आप यह बिल पेश करते तो हम उसका विरोध करते . . . (**व्यवधान**) . . . यह बिल पास नहीं होगा, हवा बैठ जाएगी । यह सच है कि जो कानून आपने बनया है, प्रधानमंत्री जी ने भी कहा कि हिंदुस्तान के आल्पसंख्यकों को घबराना नहीं चाहिए, कई लोग बोलते हैं लेकिन उसके बाद भी आपने राष्ट्रपति जी से जो यह आर्डिनेंस जारी करवाया है, बहुसंख्यक समुदाय के मुकाबले, अल्पसंख्यक समुदाय का आदमी इस अध्यादेश से ज्यादा आतंकित है । किसी कानून या अध्यादेश के जरिए एक समुदाय को आतंकित करके मुल्क की एकजुटता . . . (**व्यवधान**) . . . तो उस अध्यादेश को खत्म कराइए . . . (**व्यवधान**) . . .

श्री एस. एस. अहलुवालिया : मैडम , बार- बार यह बात यहां उठाई जाती है । मैं इस सदन में पहले भी कह चुका हूं कि "टाडा " जब सिखों के खिलाफ लगाया गया था तो किसी ने आवाज नहीं उठाई थी, जब आसाम में लगाया गया तो किसी ने आवाज नहीं उठाई, जब तमिलनाडु में लगाया गया तो किसी ने आवाज नहीं उठाई, जब मुंबई ब्लास्ट के बाद लगाया गया तो पूरी आवाज उठने लगी । आज क्यों बार-बार एक पर्टिकुलर माइनॉरिटी कम्युनिटी पर इंगित करके ...(**व्यवधान**)... यह क्यों किया जा रहा है ? बार-बार यह क्यों किया जाता है ...(**व्यवधान**)... अगर कोई देशद्रोही है , अगर कोई आतंकवादी है तो उस पर यह लागू होगा चाहे वह किसी भी मज़हब का हो , किसी भी जात का हो ...(**व्यवधान**)...

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA (West Bengal) : Are we discussing the POTO?

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: No; he is raising the issue. Again and again, he is raising this issue. That is why I am opposing it.

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA: Please take your seat.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWAUA: You are not the Presiding Officer here. *...(Interruptions)...*

उपसभापति : अहलुवालिया जी , अब आप बैठ जाइए ...(**व्यवधान**)...

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Ahluwaliaji, the reply to this question has been given in the House itself, Question No. 413. *...interruptions)...* The Government has clearly admitted that it is wrongly applied.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: Are we discussing that?

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Why are you agitated?

SHRI S. S. AHLUWAUA: If we are discussing that subject, let us have a debate on that. *...(Interruptions)...*

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Why are you agitated if there is a misuse? *...(Interruptions)...*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ahluwalia, please take your seat. *...(Interruptions)...*

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : मैडम , यह जो गैरेज और सर्वेंट क्वार्टर्स मिलते हैं, ये किराए पर उठाने के लिए मिलते हैं ? शर्म आनी चाहिए। 93 एम.पीज़ पकडे गए हैं जिन्होंने ये किराए पर उठा रखे हैं , क्या मिसयूज नहीं हो रहा है ? यह छोटी सी बात है , यह मिसयूज की बात है **...**(**व्यवधान**)...

SHRI LACHHMAN SINGH (Haryana) : You name them.

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM: How is this being misused और वह भी टैररिस्टस के लिए **...**(**व्यवधान**)...

उपसभापति : अब यहां हाऊस कमेटी डिस्कस हो रही है ? मिश्र जी , अब खत्म कीजिए।

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र :मैडम, मैं एक मिनट में खत्म कर रहा हूं । सरकार आतंकवाद के खिलाफ जो भी कदम उठाएगी , हमारी पार्टी उसके साथ रहेगी लेकिन बार-बार हम लोग अंगुली उठाते रहेंगे , आप घबरा मत जाना कि हम एकता तोड रहे हैं। आपके नेता लोगों में बुजदिली होगी और एकता अपने आप टूट जाएगी , इसलिए उनको कहो। रामगोपाल जी ने कहा था कि अमेरिका की चाटुकारिता मत करो। उससे इजाजत लेने की फिक्र में मत रहो। लेकिन मैं जानता हूं कि हम लोग बार-बार कहेंगे कि लडो तब भी आपके नेता में हिम्मत नहीं है कि लड पाएगा। फिर भी हम लोग अपनी एकता जाहिर कर रहे हैं। धन्यवाद, उपसभापति महोदया।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Kapil Sibal. Now, I will have to be a little ruthless.

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL : Madam, the moment you ask me to stop, I will stop.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, you can speak because you speak well.

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: Madam, whenever you tell me this is enough, I will sit down. There is no problem.

Madam, first of all, I consider it a great privilege to participate in this discussion. It comes at a sorrowful moment of the history of this country, when the sovereignty of this country itself has been attacked. Terrorism is a virus for which there is no medicine. Unless we get rid of terrorism, terrorism will get rid of us. It is with that understanding that we all have to stand to fight this malaise.

Madam, we have been debating this issue for the last two days. Some Members said that there was a security lapse and some others said that there was no security lapse. I don't want to go into that controversy. But one thing comes across my mind and the question that I have asked myself so often, ever since that incident happened on 13th December, is: Could we have saved them? Could we have saved those lives? Let us not forget the fact that when the terrorists came our Watch and Ward Staff was without arms. They were only armed with their courage; they were only armed with their patriotism; they were only armed with their line of duty; and they became victims of that dastardly attack. The only thing that I keep on asking myself is: Could we have avoided it? The issue is not whether there was security lapse inside the Parliament or not. The same question arises and it has arisen several times in my mind even in respect of Kargil. When I think of the fact that more than 500 people of our country sacrificed their lives in the interest of the nation, again, the question keeps on haunting me: Could their lives have been saved? The answer is "Yes, those lives could have been saved". Those lives could have been saved, if we had kept a vigil. Those lives could have been saved, if, as a polity, we were most sensitiye to the concept of national security. If I were to say the words that I am going to say now, people might think that I am being partisan. I will quote the words of a person who wrote the Kargil Report, Shri K. Subrahmaniam, when he talked about the national security. This is what he said and I quote:

> "There is a reluctance both on the part of the politicians and the bureaucrats to devote time and effort for this purpose. It is considered adequate, if people are briefed when the need arises. Starting preparations to counter a threat after it is materialised is the surest way of inviting disaster."

We are starting to counter a threat after it has already materialised. We salute those who laid down their lives with courage. But we must introspect. Not the Government alone, we as a nation must introspect. Have we in the last decade or so taken note of the concerns of national

security? The clear answer is, "No". It is very interesting. But what comes to my mind are the gems of those days when there was an attack on Kargil. Sushmaji made a wonderful speech. It touched my heart. Her speech touched my heart, except that at the end of it I did not understand what she said.

SHRI T.N. CHATURVEDI: You are very sensitive. SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: Yes, I am extremely sensitive. I did not understand the substance of what she said. She talked about the Ministers taking *Shapaths.* I agree with her. Some of the those Ministers who take *Shapaths,* what do they do with them? She is aware of them. Those Ministers are dealing with the national security. Do they forget their *Shapaths* then? I tell you the gems of one of those Ministers during the course of the Kargil conflict. Madam, you might remember, it was the shepherd who informed us on 3rd May that there was intrusion in India. The shepherd,' not the national security agencies or the intelligence agencies, informed us about it on 3rd May. On 14th May, what did the then Defence Minister say? He said, "Pakistani shelling in Kargil was sporadic and our Army was well prepared to deal with it". On i5m May, he said, "the intruders would be evicted in 48 hours". I hope you have not forgotten that. On I6m May, he said, "The Army has cordoned off the entire area and our objective would be realised within the next two days". On 20.h May he said, "The situation is well under control". On 29lh May, he said, "The Indian troops have flushed out the intruders in the Draz sector and restored the sanctity of the Line of Control". Are you talking about Ministers who take *Shapaths,* these kinds of Shapaths? We must introspect. I don't want to blame anybody. It is not my business to blame the people. But when you make speeches like that and say, "दो अंगुलियां नहीं, हमारे हाथ की पांच अंगुलियां हैं और हम उसको ऐसे मुट्ठी में बंद कर लेंगे। यह भी तो देख लीजिए कि आपकी मुट्टी में क्या है ? आपकी मुट्ठी तो खाली है , ढ़ाई साल से खाली रही है " । If body politic has become paralytic, what will your *Mutthi* do?

SHRI T. N. CHATURVEDI: You paralysed it. *...(Interruptions)...*

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: That is what the state of this country is. I speak in anger, not against any Government. *...(Interruptions)...*

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: Madam, are we discussing about the unity of the country or about doing introspection? *...l/nterruptions)...*

SHRI KARL SIBAL: Introspection. *...(Interruptions)...The* speech was made as if *...(Interruptions)...*

श्री राजू परमार : अहलुवालिया जी , उनको बोलने दीजिए । **...**(**व्यवधान**)**...** अहलुवालिया जी, उनको बोलने दीजिए । **...(व्यवधान**)...

श्री मूल चन्द मीणा (राजस्थान) **:** अहलुवालिया जी, आप बोलने दीजिए । **...(व्यवधान**)**...**

श्री राजू परमार : मैडम, क्या आपने उनको परमीशन दी है ? **. . .** (**व्यवधान**) . . . आप हर बार खडे हो जाते हैं । **. . .** (**व्यवधान**) . . .

उपसभापति : अहलुवालिया जी, अगर आप **. . .**(**व्यवधान**) . . Just a minute. *...(interruptions)...* Please sit down. *...(Interruptions)...* अहलुवालिया जी, प्लीज आप बैठिए । **. . .** (**व्यवधान**) . . .

श्री राजू परमार : आप बार- बार क्यों खडे हो जाते हैं? **. . .** (**व्यवधान**) . . .

उपसभापति : एक मिनट । **. . .** (**व्यवधान**) . . . अहलुवालिया जी , प्लीज आप बैठ जाइये । **. . .** (**व्यवधान**) . . . आप लोग बैठ जाइये । आप बैठिये, आप बैठिये । **. . .** (व्यवधान) **. . .** अहलुवालिया जी , आपके सामने मैंने अनाउंस किया है कि पांच बजे हमें यह डिसकसन खत्म करना है । अगर इस तरह से बीच में टाका – टाकी होगी तो यह कैसे होगा । थोडा –सा साहस से सुन लीजिए । इधर से भी जो बोलते हैं उनको भी साहस होना चाहिए और उधर से जो बोलते हैं उनको भी साहस होना चाहिए । अभी वह बोल रहे हैं । यह उनकी राय है । कल हम **. . .** (**व्यवधान**)...

श्री एस. एस. अहलुवालिया : क्या उनकी पार्टी की राय यही है? **. . .** (**व्यवधान**) . . .

उपसभापति : अगर उनकी राय है **...** (**व्यवधान**) . . .

श्री एस. एस. अहलुवालिया : आप प्रणव मुखर्जी साहब की स्पीच पढ़कर देख लें । **. . .** (**व्यवधान**) . . .

उपसभापति : अछा पढ़ लेंगे । . . . (**व्यवधान**) . . . ठीक है । **. . .** (व्यवधान) **. . .**

श्री मूल चन्द मीणा : इस बात का फैसला क्या अहलुवालिया जी करेंगे? **. . .** (**व्यवधान**) . . .

श्री एस . एस. अहलुवालिया : अपनी राय बोलिए । **. . .** (**व्यवधान**) . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Just one second, just one second. *...(Interruptions)...* I am telling you the fact, अहलुवालिया जी, जो टाइम बचा है वह अदर्स और यूपीजी का बचा है । ये तो वे सदस्य बोल रहे हैं जिनके नाम लिस्ट में लिखे हैं । अभी जो नॉमिनेटिड मेम्बर्स हैं, जो एक – एक पार्टी को रिप्रजेंट करते हैं **...** क्या आप चाहते हैं कि वह न बोलें ?

श्री एस. एस. अहलुवालिया : सब बोलें ।

उपसभापति : पांच बजे इसे खत्म करना है । इस तरह से पांच बजे तक खत्म नहीं हो पाएगा । आपको उनकी मदद करनी चाहिए । . . . (**व्यवधान**) . .

श्री नरेन्द्र मोहन (**उत्तर प्रदेश**) : मैडम, एक घंटा टाइम ऐक्सटैंड कर दीजिए ।

उपसभापति : मुझे तो कुछ फर्क नहीं पड़ता है । मैं चार घंटे भी ऐक्सटैंड कर सकती हूं पर यह तो सरकार को तय करना है, पार्लियामेंटरी अफेयर्स मिनिस्टरी को तय करना है ।

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: The reason why I said this is. for the last two days, I have heard, from the Treasury Benches, only one reference that they are in control of issues of national security. I am only pointing out the record of this Government in matters of national security. I am one with you that we have to fight terrorism. But introspect what you have been doing in the last two years; this is all that I want to place on record. And I am not saying it myself, Madam,...

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : पुरानी बातों को भूल जाओ ।उन्हें छोड़ दो और आगे चलो ।

श्री नीलोत्पल बसु : कब तक भूलते रहेंगे ?...(**व्यवधान**)...

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: In fact, may I just point out some of the recommendations? *...(Interruptions)...* Madam, after the constitution of the Kargil Review Committee, there are certain recommendations made by them; but none of the recommendations of the Kargil Committee has been implemented till date. For example, the Kargil Review Committee recommended that since having a National Security Advisor, who also happens to be the P.S. to the P.M., can only be an interim arrangement, there must be a full-time National Security Advisor. Now, this recommendation was not made yesterday. The situation continues. The National Security Advisor is still occupying two posts. There has to be a thorough review of the national security system in its entirety; this is again one of the recommendations. In fact, the National Security Council has not met since 1998. We are three years down the road. The National Security Council was constituted in 1998. It has not met for the last three years. So, how does anybody from the other side stand up and say that the issues of national security are very much in control of this Government? I will give you another recommendation. Setting up of one agency along the lines of the National Security Agency of the U.S.A. under which all the communications and electronic intelligence can be grouped or collected not implemented. Another recommendation was: Setting up of an integrated defence intelligence agency needs examination. In advanced countries, technological intelligence collection *is* undertaken by an integrated defence

intelligence agency with adequate resources. In India, defence intelligence effort is limited to the role assigned to RAW, except for limited tactical and signal intelligence. This recommendation again is not implemented. The next one is: Thorough examination of the working of the intelligence system with a view to remedying the deficiency not implemented. So, when you stand up and say that we are in control, that we have taken care of our security concerns, please tell the nation what you mean by that. Is this the level of control, and is this the *mutthi* that you are talking about? Then, another recommendation is: Review Government's Information Policy; have a declaratory policy for the Line of Control. None of these recommendations of the Kargil Review Committee has been implemented. This Report has not even been discussed. In fact, the Kargil Review Committee Report, which was placed on the Table of the House, has not yet been discussed in this House. This is your concern about national security! Madam, you will remember what happened at the time of hijacking of IC-814? This is the first time that I am mentioning it in this House with some sense of responsibility. When there was pressure on us at Kandhar that we should release the three militants, and we had to do it before the end of December because there was a demand, Madam, do you know what happened? Applications were filed in the Court and the orders for the release of those militants were made much later by the Court, and they had been released much earlier.

And what were we negotiating? Those militants had killed people in India. Those militants were responsible for the dastardly deaths of victims in India. What right did the Government of India have to negotiate on behalf of the victims, and for which these militants were being prosecuted? I would like to ask that from this Government. What did you get in return? What did you get in return? Madam, what did this Government get in return? It got in return a man who went back to Pakistan and, in Februrary, 2000, launched the Jaish-e-Mohammed Maulana Masood Azhar. He launched Jaish-e-Mohammed in Februrary, 2000. And what happened? That is the same Jaish-e-Mohammed that has attacked the Parliament today!

SHRI B. P. SINGHAL (Uttar Pradesh) : Madam, what are we discussing?

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: We are discussing the complete failure of this Government.

SHRI B. P. SINGHAL: Is that the issue?

SHRI KARL SIBAL: Yes. We are discussing that.

SHRI B. P. SINGHAL: The issue is...

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: ...that this Government must introspect about issues of national security, and we are with this Government, if it chooses to introspect.

SHRI SATISH PRADHAN: There was a Calling Attention on Internal Security and you did not want to...

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: What are you talking about?

SHRI SATISH PRADHAN: There was a Calling Attention on Internal Security on the agenda and you did not want to discuss about it. *...(Interruptions)...* They did not want to discuss it. *...(Interruptions)...*

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: As Nitotpalji pointed out in the course of the debate that ultimately one of the...

SHRI B. P. SINGHAL: Madam, you have given him more than 20 minutes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am asking him to conclude.

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: In fact, the financial resources of Jaish-e-Mohammed went to Mohammed Atta who attacked, ultimately, the World Trade Centre. When you have soft approach towards terrorism and you have a soft approach towards terrorism for the last two-and-a-half years, then all that you are doing by making public statements, as of today, is to try to wipe out your track record for the past two-and-a-half years. That is what is happening.

The time has come for action. And I remember the words of Benjamin Disraeli, when he said, "Action may not bring happiness; but there is no happiness without action". You have to act. But you have to be prepared before you act.

SHRI T. N. CHATURVEDI: That is what we are doing.

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: I understand what you are doing. I quite appreciate the statement of the Prime Minister because, in effect, the

Prime -Minister has said that we will take everything into account and decide. Well, that is for the Prime Minister to do; that is his privilege. And the Prime Minister has also said that we are building an international coalition, which we are building over the yearsl I would in fact, have expected the Home Minister to come here, or the Prime Minister to come here, or the Leader of the House to come here, to propose a resolution that can be passed unanimously by this House so that the international community must know that we are one and we are together to fight and wage a war against terrorism. But, unfortunately, that has not been done. And I propose it, Madam, and I will read out the resolution, which I am sure, every Member of this House will support, and this is what the resolution is. May I, with your permission, Madam, read out?

"This House believes that the attack on the Indian Parliament on December 13, 2001, was the handiwork of members of terrorist outfits, Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed, part of the Al-Qaeda network and that Pakistan is under an obligation, consistent with Resolution 1373 (2001) of the Security Council, not only to inform the Government of India of the actions and movements of these terrorist outfits but also prevent and suppress terrorist acts perpetrated by Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed; and further hand over to the Government of India, for bringing to justice, Maulana Azhar, Sheikh Mohammed and Zargar, the three terrorists operating from Pakistan, after their release, pursuant to the hijacking of IC-814".

"This House, further believes that the Government of India should call upon Pakistan, consistent with Resolution 1373 (2001) of the Security Council, to make all efforts to ensure action against terrorists and terrorist organisations by, *inter alia*, seizing all their assets under appropriate laws to prevent the adventurism perpetrated by their terrorist attacks in India".

"This House further expects the Government of India to continue to cooperate with the Counter-Terrorism Committee to monitor implementation of Resolution 1373 (2001) by calling upon Pakistan to set in place appropriate legislative, legal, technical, financial and regulatory or other frame-works for the purposes of implementation of Resolution 1373 (2001)".

"This House also expects the Government of India to urge upon the United States of America" - and this is important - "that the terrorist outfits Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed which are part of the Al-Qaeda network be dealt with in a manner consistent with the public pronouncements made by the United States from time to time."

I am sure, each Member of this House will support this resolution. *...(Interruptions)...*

SHRI T. N. CHATURVEDI: It should come from the Chair. *...(Interruptions)...*

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: There must be a unity of purpose. Unless such a resolution is passed, the whole world will not know that we are together in. That is what I am proposing. I expected this from the Government. The point that I am making is, I expect this from the Government. Madam, please give me two minutes. There is something very important that I want to share with the House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have many names before me.

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: There is something exceptionally important that I want to share with the House. *...(Interruptions)...* I wanted to share it with the Members of this House. Madam, these outfits, namely, Jaish-e-Mohammed and Laskar-e-Taiba are, in fact, part of the groups affiliated with the Al-Qaeda. This is not my statement, but is the statement of the U.S. Department of State in its publication, "Patterns of Global Terrorism 1999." Now, if the U.S. Department of State itself concedes that this is part of the Al-Qaeda network, then, surely, the Parliament of this country can pass a unanimous resolution that being part of the Al-Qaeda network...

SHRI RAMDAS AGARWAL: When was Jaish-e-Mohammed founded?

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: February, 2000.

SHRI RAMDAS AGARWAL: अभी आप क्या पढ़ रहे हैं ?

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: This is 1999. Now, if that is part of the network, then, surely, we can say that consistent with your pronouncements, you should take action against these outfits.

Secondly, Madam, terrorism will not end here. What we have seen is only symptomatic or what we are likely to see in the future in different forms because a terrorist has an advantage because he can choose his time; he can choose his place; he can choose his victim and he can choose his method of attack. I give to you, Madam, a very sinister testimony recorded in the United States of America in the case, "United States of America V. Osama Bin Laden." It is in the United States district court, southern district of New York, dated February 14, 2001 (day 3 of trial).

I will read just a few sentences. The prosecution witness in this testimony is Al-Fadl. He is asked the question about nuclear weapons, and this is what he said. Mr. Fitzgerald is asking him these questions.

> "Mr. Fitzgerald: During the time you were involved with Al-Qaeda, did there come a time when you became involved in an attempt to purchase uranium? Mr. Al-Fadl: Yes." Al-Fadl is the member of the Al-Qaeda. "Mr. Fitzgerald: Can you tell us when that was?
> Mr. Al-Fadl: That is around '94 or end of "93. Mr. Fitzgerald: Can you tell us how you came to be involved in the purchase of uranium? Mr. Al-Fadl: I remember Abu Fadhl al Makkee, he called me and he told me we hea/ somebody in Khartoum, he got uranium, and we need you to go and study that, is that true or not." Then, he goes on to say that 1.5 million dollars were paid for the purchase of that uranium. Uranium is in their hands.

Forms of terrorism are not unknown to us. The time is not to bicker. It is time for this country, it is time for the Parliament, it is time for the people of India to recognise this. We can be attacked at any time. Let us not go with public statements; let us see the ground reality. I request the Government, I request the National Security Adviser, I request the Home Minister of this country to please have a meeting of the National Security Council, revamp the entire organisation, do something at the ground level, instead of looking towards one State for the purpose of winning an election. Thank you very much.

श्री एस. एस. अहलुवालिया : मैडम, एक सैकिण्ड , एक सैकिण्ड . . . (**व्यवधान**) . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Ahluwaliaji, I am not allowing. There is no question. No, no. *...(Interruptions)...* I am not allowing.

श्री एस. एस. अहलुवालिया : युनाइटेड नेशन्स के रेजोल्यूशन को कोट किया इन्होंने। युनाइटेड नेशन्स के जिस रेजोल्युशन को कोट कर रहे हैं उसके सैकिण्ड पार्ट में वही रेजोल्युशन कहता है कि The Member countries should pass a legislation to control and curb terrorism. What is your reaction to that? *...(Interruptions)...*

SHRI KAPIL SIBAL: Yes, I have. *...(Interruptions)...* Mr. Ahluwalia, you have not. *...(Interruptions)...* You have not. वही तो कहा न You are right. This only means..... *(Interruptions)...*

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: You are opposing POTO. *...(Interruptions)...*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*... Let's keep quiet for a minute. Everyone should keep quiet. The point is, will the UN pass the Resolution? Many other organisations have passed the Resolution. This Parliament has also passed the Resolution against terrorism. It is not the first time that we are discussing the issue. But the situation is graver over here, because terrorism has many manifestations. Terrorism thrives with narcotic trade also. That has not been mentioned by anybody. Nobody has mentioned how the money is collected by felling the* narcotics and passing them across the border. These are the issues which are very serious. But, we don't have that much time. Surely, we can discuss it again and again. Just by discussing it for two days, I doubt if you can fight against terrorism. I travelled all over the world and I have discussed terrorism in different countries. It comes up in different manifestations and in different forms.

Now, let us peacefully, at least, send out a message from this House that we are one in the fight against terrorism. There can be difference of opinion on how to fight it, but let the people not get a message that parties are trying to score a point over each other. Every one of us is against terrorism.

I feel ashamed that it happened on the day when they should have been praying. The hijack took place during Ramzan. The attack also took place during Ramzan. It is a month for piety and not for killing even a small animal or breaking a leaf. And they did it.

I personally feel ashamed that they are taking the name of Mohammed, who was the prophet for peace and amity. Now let us be quiet.

SHRI SURESH KALMADI (Maharashtra) : At least the Rajya Sabha should pass this Resolution. Madam, it is a House of Elders. You take the initiative and pass this Resolution.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Resolutions are not passed like this. Resolutions have to be discussed. If every party agrees, only then a Resolution can be passed. A Resolution should not be voted. It has to be unanimous. You can think about it. It is a good suggestion. But everybody should agree on it. ...*(Interruptions)*... Mr. Sibal read from some book and I would like to read that if he has got it.

Now, Shri Shankar Roy Chowdhury. Everyone, whose names have been listed out before me, would get four minutes each. The Lok Sabha has already adjourned. The Minister may be on his way now. *...(Interruptions)...* Everybody, whether on this side or that side, should get a chance.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS (SHRI O. RAJAGOPAL): Madam, new parties should also get a chance.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is why I have called Shri Shankar Roy Chowdhury. He would put some viewpoint which would be different from everybody else, because he is an independent Member.

SHRI SHANKAR ROY CHOWDHURY (West Bengal): Madam Deputy Chairperson, the event of the 13th December this year has posed one of the most explicit challenges the nation has faced almost since Independence. It amounts, in a manner of speaking, to a declaration of war against the nation. The attack on the Parliament on the 13th December must be seen as a part of Pakistan's ongoing proxy war against us. It has to be seen in the sequence of Kargil in 1999, the Kandahar hijacking in 1999. And now we have the attack on the Parliament of India in New Delhi in 2001.

Pakistan's aim is very clear and we must understand that. Pakistan's aim is to use the medium of proxy war, terrorism, and low Intensity conflict to disintegrate the nation. One must also understand the driving force of this motivation which drives Pakistan to prosecute and force an endless war against us, and that because it is the Pakistan Army which Is In charge of governing our neighbouring country, it is obsessed by getting revenge for their defeat in Bangladesh. And the annexation of Kashmir, the defeat of India in Kashmir, disintegration of the nation is the price, the objective they have set for themselves. As many hon. Members here have said, this, terrorism is going to be a long war that we must face up unitedly and courageously because this is a war without end literally.

I come now to the attack on Parliament itself. Members have described it in detail. I will not go further into it except to make two comments. Firstly, the terrorists attacked the Parliament. According to our Parliament safety procedures as well as the action of the security forces, who In this case are the CRPF, the Delhi Police and I understand there is some ITBP here also because people were mentioning it, but whatever It was, the security forces which protected the Parliament kept the Parliament intact, preserved all df us. For that we are totally thankful. But even above

that, I would praise the courage of the Watch & Ward Staff,, who, really speaking, were not trained police or paramilitary personnel. They were unarmed civilians. I really do not find words adequate enough to describe the courage of this unarmed person, Mr. Jagdish Prasad Yadav, who went out and chased them or closed the doors of Parliament after being wounded. So, I feel that though the Government's intention may have been to increase the sense of security, the nation feels, the Parliament feels that by deploying the Army I do not doubt the Government's intent; that was the intent in the process, perhaps - perhaps - we may have conveyed an unintentional signal that the Police, the CRPF, our Watch & Ward Staff and others who had so valiantly and effectively protected us were perhaps not good enough. I do not think we wanted to convey that message. I do not think at that time it was appropriate for the Government to have deployed the Army because it conveyed a contrary signal. Also I do believe the Army has no business in guarding the Parliament. So, for these two reasons, perhaps, it might have been better - I am not doubting the Government's intention if the watch and ward security had remained in the hands of those who had originally been entrusted with it. About the Watch and Ward Staff no words are adequate to express the admiration of the way they functioned. I would suggest, recommend to whichever Committee is now going to review the security procedure in the Parliament building - yes, the Watch & Ward Staff are civilian staff, accepted - but in addition, because they are the security staff, can they not be given some kind of an additional security allowance, some life insurance cover? Can we not think of it because, really speaking, they are doing a little bit extra in that sense than the other employees, the other staff who are working in the Parliament. *...(Interruptions)..yes,* training also. The attack on the Parliament has brought the nation to an emotional flashpoint. The Government is in a very difficult position. Any Government which is in office at this time will be in a very difficult position because there will be an immense pressure from the public, this pressure from us and this pressure from the entire environment. And the Government has got no easy choices before it. The Government is also aware, as we are, that whatever action it takes, it will have grave and far-reaching consequences. Therefore, here, we must be clear that, firstly, the Government must not act in haste because this is a part of hype that is building up. For immediate action, the Government must not act in haste. I wish to give an example of America itself. Madam, to attack a small country like Afghanistan, the U.S.A. prepared itself for two months. When they launched the Operation Desert Storm - the Gulf War - they prepared

themselves for six months! We will take action. Let there be no doubt about that. But, that action must be taken after full preparation, not in haste. We must build up a national consensus. I think this point has been made sufficiently clear from both the sides of the House, and it has been made doubly clear in today's interventions and addresses by the hon. Prime Minister and the hon. Minister of Information and Broadcasting as well as many eminent Members from the opposition benches. The need for a national unity is very clear. I do hope that we shall huild up the national consensus.

Finally, we have to act on our own. Let us not look to any other country for help. We have to act on our own.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Roy Chowdhury...

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM: Madam, General Roy Chowdhury.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We do not use the word 'General' in the House because he is against the army entering inside the Parliament House! Being a Member of Parliament, I think, he should be more proud of, as he was proud of being a General.

SHRI SHANKAR ROY CHOWDHURY: Madam that is a point on which I have a separate view. Do you want me to stop? I have no problem *...(Interruptions)...*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: When he was a General, he was a General; when he is a Member of Parliament, he is a Member of Parliament.

SHRI SHANKAR ROY CHOWDHURY: Would you like me to stop?

SHRI SWARAJ KAUSHAL (Haryana) : Madam, we shall be grateful if you could allow him to speak. We would like to hear him. We have withdrawn our names. We would like to hear him.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are many speakers who have not withdrawn their names..*(Interruptions)...* Only you have withdrawn your name.

SHRI SWARAJ KAUSHAL: People like him should be heard. He is an expert. He has given thirty-five of his years to the Army...*(Interruptions)...*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have still got twenty names before me. So, it is not my desire...

4.00 p.m.

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM: Mr. Kaushal has withdrawn the names on behalf of all the Members.

SHRI SWARAJ KAUSHAL: No. I have only withdrawn my name. I thought we could listen to the General. He is precisely the person whom we should hear today.

SHRI SHANKAR ROY CHOWDHURY: Madam, would you like me to stop?..*(Interruptions)...* Would you like me to stop? I have no problem.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If you could wind it up...

SHRI SHANKAR ROY CHOWDHURY: Yes. But you will have to give me a couple of minutes. Couple of minutes, as we all say, means, a little more than that.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I do not mind sitting the whole night on such an issue. But,...

SHRI SHANKAR ROY CHOWDHURY: I just wish to make my points very briefly.

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : मैडम, पडोसी सदन उठ गया है **. . .** (**व्यवधान**) . . .

SHRI SHANKAR ROY CHOWDHURY: My advice to the Government is that we have had a lot of rhetoric. In the first flush of events and in the first flush of emotion, we have had a lot of rhetoric. That rhetoric is now coming down and this is the level at which it should be. Madam, rhetoric must be calibrated with reality because before the Government makes up its mind, it will have to go through many factors. It will have to go through the fact whether we are economically capable to sustain a war. It will have to go through the political situation within the country. It will have to look at the international situation. It will have to go through the internal situation of the country. And, ultimately, Madam, unfortunately, it will also have to go through the military capabilities of this country, including the nuclear aspect. So, I think, rhetoric must be calibrated to reality and the reality must be calibrated to capability.

There is much talk of the USA. There is much talk of Israel. I think it is unrealistic; because incapabilities, and the intention and the approach, we are not the USA. We are not Israel. Today, the United States let us be very clear is the sole super power in the world. Like it or

dislike it; support it or oppose it, we cannot wish it away. We have to take into account all its reactions, its desires, its own interests, its plans, all over the world. In this part of the world, the future plans of the USA will affect us. Today, may I say, at this particular stage when we are talking of crossing the Line of Control and the expansion that might take place thereafter, quite a few of the airfields in Pakistan which would be our normal target are occupied by aircraft of the United States Air Force? This is a complicating factor. We cannot brush aside these things. The President of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf, has made many statements. Some of them are definitely conciliatory. But we must not forget that Pakistan, under its present governance, is, in no way, our friend. He is unworthy of our confidence. He had betrayed our trust earlier. Now, when he demands to have proof, when he demands to have a joint investigation, we should not give any credibility to his statements because these are short-term expediencies, under the presence of the USA. He will make sure that he survives under the presence of the USA until the Afghan situation is over. And the chances are that he will then come back at us again. We should be very careful as.to how much credibility, how much trust we should put in him and the Government of Pakistan under his leadership because he is not at all to be trusted. *(Time-bell)* So, what should we do? We must respond. It has to be a well-calibrated, composite, combined, and unified response, which must take into account all the factors I related earlier. We have a model on which we can develop ourselves. We are faced with a grave crisis. But we were faced with a grave crisis earlier also. I would recommend to the Government, I would urge upon the Government to kindly study - which they must have studied - the response, the way India prepared the ground in the crisis of 1971 in Bangladesh. At that time, Mrs. Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister of India. I was then a Major in the Army. I was myself in Bangladesh. I could see it coming up at the ground level. We took ten months, notwithstanding similar emotive responses throughout india, to go into Bangladesh, to overrun Pakistan. We held out against these internal pressures. We deliberately prepared the ground. We launched an international offensive. We explained our point of view to the international audience, including the United Nations. We prepared the people of our country for a war. We built up our Armed Forces. Then, finally, ten months after one of the gravest provocation we have had, we did what we had to do. That is the method that India must follow today. Do what we have to do. But we will do everything after due preparation. Now, Madam,... *(Interruptions)...*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I thought you are going to finish because I have Mr. Fali S. Nariman, Mr. *...(Interruptions)...*

SHRI SHANKAR ROY CHOWDHURY: Madam, I have one point to make, which I would like to make because I am, possibly, in a unique position as a former Chief of Army Staff, who now has the happy opportunity of being present in Parliament. If you allow me, I shall make that point.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Okay.

SHRI SHANKAR ROY CHOWDHURY: The point that I wish to raise is a sensitive issue. It is a complex issue. It is a controversial issue. So, I will have to choose my words very carefully. It is the affect of the media-driven political controversies and turmoil on our mechanism of defence procurement. It has been going on since Bofors. The Bofors is a very good weapon. But the political controversy it had generated which has, by the way, not yet been proved - resulted in our cutting short the contract, picking up a minor portion of what we are supposed to get, and leaving the rest aside. And more than that it generated a feeling of inhibition; a feeling of restriction on the mechanism which has to go through the various procedures for procurement of equipment for modernisation of the armed forces. As a result, from 1986 onwards, when this incident took place, up to 1997 when I was the Chief - I was the Chief of Army Staff from November, 1994 till September, 1997 - I knew that the defence procurement procedure was at a total standstill. When you wanted to know about all those things that were peno...g for five years or ten years, you got a reply, 'I am not going to take any action, I will be hauled up for it.'

Then Kargil happened. There was a requirement for more equipment. And we were short of almost everything. Everything was pending for almost ten years. Under the impetus of the Kargil war, certain funds were released. Procedures were put underway to buy that equipment urgently. But Tehalka happened, and it again stopped. Then the CAG report came. We will discuss all these separately. But what I would like to place before this House, the Government as well as the Opposition, is that the effect of our political controversies, through the years, has brought the total modernisation system of the armed forces to a halt. And I would humbly, earnestly and sincerely urge all of you to try and devise some method. No one is condoning corruption. But, can we insulate the administrative process from the political turmoil, so that a person procuring

a tank today, should not say I witt be hauled up five years hence, and I will not procure it, someone else can do it? And with that suggestion, Madam, I would thank you very much for allowing me to speak. Thank you.

SHRI FALI S. NARIMAN (Nominated): Madam, I will try to adjust the timing, so that others may also speak. Long before I entered this House, it was more than two years ago, I always believed that this great country of ours is greater than all the Governments it has had present or past. And if you believe this, as I do, then, I submit that it behoves us all to present to our neighbours, to the unelected President of a theocratic state, and to the rest of the world, a united stand and a united front, in this gravest moment of crisis.

In my humble opinion, and I say this with deference to all my learned friends and hon. friends who have spoken, that this is not the time or occasion for finding fault. I do believe that we are not a fractured Republic. I would like to believe that in the face of adversity and threats, we are a united Republic. Our soldiers - Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs -fight bravely; have fought bravely, as no one can or has for the entire country. This whole country is so full of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and a host of other religious communities. We are, what we believe, we are. And, here, I applaud what my distinguished and hon. friend, Shri Saifullah, said a few moments ago. What he said was well spoken both as a true Muslim and as a true Indian. I submit that we, on all sides of the House, must rise above ourselves; and our party affiliations. We owe this to ourselves, we owe this to the future destiny of this great country. This debate, Madam, is not a post-mortem on the Government or its policies. If it was, I would have contributed my own views on what I believe to be the numerous wrongs of this Government. I have in the past, frequently drawn attention to that. But, this is not a post-mortem on the Government. It is a post-mortem on the dastardly attack on the Parliament House, as mentioned in the statement of the hon. Home Minister. There is much to criticize about Americans and their system of Government. But, at this time, let us, I suggest, take a leaf out of the reaction of the single largest party in the United States, the Democrats, as large as the Republicans who are in governance there, at the dastardly events of September 11th when terrorists took charge on one single fnorning of four different American planes at four different places leading to catastrophic events, thousands of deaths in New York, Washington and elsewhere. These terrorist acts were all as a result of what we would have called very loudly, obvious security lapses. But the lips

of each and every democrat were sealed. Why? Not because they excused the Bush Government for vital security lapses, but only because they wanted to present a united front in fighting terrorism.

If I mentioned America, it was only because it is the oldest democracy in the world and ours is the largest democracy in the world. What has happened has happened. What has been spoken and done, whether by the Prime Minister or leaders on all sides, whether in Bombay or in Delhi, has been said and done. Today, when we are debating the statement of the hon. Home Minister, we represent, I believe, the entire country. We do not - I would suggest - represent any particular political party. Post-December 13 in India, like post-September n^{m} in the United States, is a different period of political history or as the Americans may like to can it, post-December 13 is a different ball-game. Please, consider this fact, I beseech you, that the Leader of the House was yesterday able to read the hon. Home Minister's statement, on the events of December 13^{th}, and we have been privileged to discuss it both, yesterday and today is simply "miraculous". Those of us who believe in God, as I do, must thank him for this deliverance. But, no deliverance comes without a price. And we have paid the price by losing heroic lives. I believe, we must all show that we, as a body, are worthy of that deliverance.

As the poet says: "The Moving Finger writes; and, having writ, Moves on; not all thy Piety nor Wit. Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line, Nor all thy Tears wash out a Word of it." So, let us look ahead. The Home Minister has rightly said in the very first paragraph of the Statement read out yesterday that the country would always remain indebted to the Security personnel who made the supreme sacrifice. He is right in saying so. We will, but let us reflect how we will remain indebted to the memory of those brave saviours. I suggest that it is only by continuing our debates and discourse; by continuing the business of this House without disruption and with tolerance for one another's views, howsoever, divergent they may be. Thus, we must show to the world that we, in our heart of hearts, genuinely believe in Parliamentary system of democracy. If we come to this House and do not spend time in the business of the nation - debating great and contentious issues - even the ordinary intelligent people will come to the conclusion that there is a little need for a Parliament. Let us never, by our actions or omissions, give our people this impression of Parliamentary democracy. The Statement of the hon. Home Minister has asked us to ponder why terrorists and their backers tried to raise the stake so high, and

has suggested an answer in paragraph 9. I would venture, Madam, to add a rider to this. The reason why the terrorists and their backers tried to raise the stakes so high by attacking this institution was that because those behind the terrorists are envious of our Parliamentary system of Government. It is, as the hon. Leader of the Opposition rightly said, the heart of our democracy. It is also the envy of our neighbour. It is simply because this country alone, in this entire sub-continent has continuously enjoyed a Parliamentary system for over 50 years. Those who masterminded the terrorist attack of December 13, wanted to get at our heart, because they could not dare to see or to tolerate the survival of this great nation. I say all this, Madam, not on my own, but on the authority of a fine Parliamentarian whom I had the good fortune to know, and greatly admire, the late Piloo Mody. Shri Piloo Mody had visited Zulifikar Ali Bhutto, who was his friend, in a prison in Pakistan awaiting a sentence of death for murder a murder of which it was widely believed, and it is still widely believed, he was innocent. Shri Piloo himself told me and has also recorded this that in his conversation with Bhutto in the Pakistan prison, Bhutto nostalgically recalled what he called, and I quote "the noise and chaos of Indian democracy", and he deeply regretted that he had made fun of it in the hey-day of his political power. The noise and chaos of Indian Parliamentary democracy, he had told Piloo Mody, has a certain vitality; it has the strength and safety of numbers. No citizens' fate, no legislative measure, depended on the whim or dispensation of one man. Bhutto was right. Look around, hon. Members, I beseech you, at our neighbour and then thank our lucky stars that despite all our faults and drawbacks of our Parliamentary system, rt has always ensured in these past 52 years a peaceful change of governments both at the Centre and in the States. This is the discipline of the Parliamentary system of Government of which we are proud and of which others make fun. It is only because they are envious of our Parliamentary democracy. Madam, the expressions in the statement like "the most audacious" and "the most alarming" do require some response, and the Government has to make up its mind about what it will do and keep its powder dry. But, I believe, we demand too much by asking the Government to disclose its hand today in so vital a matter that affects the security of the nation and relations with foreign States. I would respectfully say to the leaders in Government, consider all your options, in whichever order you consider them most appropriate, but never on the basis of party politics. That is the bottom line.

Madam, I would conclude by saying, as the Prime Minister has rightly told us late this morning that the need of the hour is wisdom. The statement of the Home Minister recalls the address to the nation of the Prime Minister on the 13th of December, and he declared that the fight against terrorism has reached a *"decisive"* phase. I only hope and pray that whatever decision that is taken to fight this ghastly new facet of terrorism, the Government will be guided, not by impulse, not in anger, but with wisdom. Thank you, Madam.

SHRI CHO S. RAMASWAMY (Nominated): Madam, I shall try to finish my speech within the four minutes that are allotted to me. I think, the time allotted to me is only four minutes. Madam, but for the courage and the presence of mind shown by the security men and Watch and Ward staff, we would have had an immense problem on our hand, the kind of problem which we had not seen or experienced before. And, Madam, who would have been blamed for that; not the security staff, but the Government. Everyone would have ruled the Government unfit to govern. Now, when such a disaster has been averted, why should we grudge in giving a share of the credit to the Government? I think this has become a convention with us. When there is a plane crash or a train accident, the Government is blamed and the Minister, in all probability, will have to go, but when a plane crash is averted or a train accident is miraculously averted, the credit goes to the person concerned, the man on the spot, and not to the Government. This is the unfairness of the established convention, based on the concept of moral responsibility. I am not trying to divert the attention from the gratitude the nation owes to those brave people who have laid down their lives. The least we MPs could do is, to contribute, as substantially as we can, to the fund that is already being organised. I, Madam, on my part have already undertaken to contribute one year's salary to the fund.

Now, we are talking about the security arrangements not being enough. But what is now demanded, after the attack, would not have been tolerated before the event. For example, if before the event, every car was stopped at the gate and fully checked and the MPs were asked to get down from their cars and walk to the Parliament, would it have been accepted without protest? I think, everyone would have talked about harassment and humiliation. Only after the event, we realised the seriousness of the situation, and then we say that security arrangements were not enough. Let us also not forget that the U.S., with all its modern

gadgetry and sophisticated telecom equipment was not able to foresee or unearth the plan to attack the Twin Towers. Not only that, our security agencies have been able, within a matter of days, to unravel what happened really. They have given almost in a chorological order the various stages of the conspiracy that led to the attack. We have to praise them for it. We have to praise the system also for it, not only the men who are handling* it. And, we have to praise the Government also which has made it possible to happen. Madam, now, about what comes next -- I am not a military expert like the General is, nor am I foreign affairs expert -- I have to rely on common sense. I feel that we must give peace a chance, and that could be done by expecting the Alliance against terrorism to discipline Pakistan. We have to give them some time, but if they are not willing or if they fail to do that, then after genuine efforts after sincere efforts, then, we may have no other option except direct action. That may mean crossing the LoC and may mean inviting a war. But if only a war can achieve peace for us, then, it be so. We must be prepared for it at that stage. But before that, I think, it will be wise to give peace a chance. If it is not taken, then, wage a war to achieve peace. Madam, apart from other things, this attack on the Parliament has brought a semblance of unity to the Parliament itself, to the House, and to the proceedings. During the last week the two Houses were immersed in total turmoil. Now, the Government is prepared to say that the Opposition has to be consulted. They are prepared to concede It, the right of the Opposition with some reservations. The Opposition is prepared to concede the fact that the Government cannot place all its cards on the table; and it has to hold back vital information. Well, at least, this kind of an understanding between the Opposition and the Government has become possible only after the attack. In that way, the attack has brought peace to the Parliament. I am sure, it will bring peace to the country. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I would rather have turmoil in the House than that kind of peace. Shri B.J. Panda.

SHRI B.J. PANDA (Orissa): Madam Deputy Chairman, in paying homage to the martyrs of 13th December, 2001, I would like to express my gratitude not because they have sacrificed their lives, but because they sacrificed their lives for upholding the dignity and preservation of the parliamentary system of democracy which Mr. Nariman has so evocatively spoken about. When I learnt about the bravery and the sacrifice of these people, particularly Shri Yadav, the image that haunts me is an unarmed man with a family to take care of running after a car and trying to stop it, a car filled to the gills with explosives and weapons.

Madam, I would like to compliment the hon. Leader of the Opposition for what I can only describe as his statesman like response to the statement of the Home Minister. In particular, I would like to commend him for his explicit statement to the effect that this was not the time to apportion the blame, this was not the time to point the fingers. The theme of solidarity has been echoed, again and again, throughout these two days of debate. I compliment all those hon. Members who have furthered this theme both from the Opposition Benches as well as from the Treasury Benches. In this light, I personally hesitate to make the fine distinction between the personal bravery of the security people and the Watch and Ward staff and the security arrangements themselves. Madam, they are undoubtedly personal bravery also. They are part and parcel of the security drill of looking for suspicious vehicles, for looking out suspicious people and taking action to stop them. This is what these brave men did.

When we talk about security, a great onus lies on us, the Members of Parliament. Have we not all seen examples of some Member or the other browbeating the same brave people on occasions at being questioned or stopped or simply for not being recognised? Have we not seen examples of some Member or the other taking an offence to their companion being stopped and searched? Madam, the onus is on us, not just words, but the way that we can honour these martyrs is to help in strengthening the system of security. We must be prepared to sacrifice some of our facilities within this Parliament complex which will bring some degree of inconvenience to us. But that is the only way to honour these brave people; and that is the only way to strengthen their very hands. In this connection, many suggestions have been made. Perhaps, all the cars should be parked at a distance; and the ferry bus system be operated to bring Members into the Parliament House. Perhaps, smart identification cards could be utilised which every Member ought to agree to wear prominently. Perhaps, fingerprint scanning systems can be implemented. There should be no distinction between the depth of the security procedures that ought to be followed here and that of those followed at any airport, for instance. We do not have even the minimum level of security screening. Perhaps, we ought to agree to having fewer entries into Parliament. It becomes simpler to control and to manage. In any case, when we talk of security, we ought not to think only of the Parliament Complex; we ought to think, as has been said in the last two days, of the entire country. This requires a cultural change; this requires a change of national attitude, that we must set an example first. Some of this is already happening, Madam, at our airports since the event of

September 11. I have myself noticed many VI Ps and WIPs themselves being open to the idea of being frisked at airports. This culture must be spread throughout the country for us to continue to deal with this threat of terrorism that is not going to go away, as the hon. Member, Shri Sibal, pointed out.

The issue of solidarity is very important. Madam, I shall take only a minute more. When we talk of solidarity and putting forward a unified face of the nation, we must not bicker amongst ourselves, we must not find faults or point fingers at our own faults, but look at the outrageous claims that are being made across the border. Pakistan has made the outrageous claim that this attack was engineered by India itself. That is what we ought to be all taking on, in every forum available to us. Madam, I endorse the diplomatic efforts that have been suggested by so many hon. Members. But, in pursuing diplomatic efforts, pursuing the friendship and the cooperation and support of neighbouring countries, is equally important as pursuing all those of the sole super-power. When it comes to talking about the US' attitude, obviously, the statement of their Secretary of State, concerning this attack, was blatantly hypocritical. But, why are we so reactive? I think we have reached the level where we can be far more proactive. In saying this, I heed the advice given by General Roy Chowdhury, which is extremely important, that the preparation must be made diligently before we can take any action because, apart from all the comparisons of 1971, there is one major difference, in that, any action today, has the potential of being escalated all the way to a nuclear conflict.

Madam, just one last bit. We must exercise our increasing international influence to arm-twist Pakistan to take action against these terrorist outfits. I read in a national magazine last night that the only action that has been taken in the last two or three months is that the sign-boards proclaiming the terrorist headquarters of the Lashkar-e-Taiba have now been taken away, so that, perhaps, it will create a little bit of difficulty for the Lashkar-e-Taiba cadres to find their way! But, that is not the >sort of action that we are looking for. If we cannot exercise enough influence to get Pakistan to change its ways, then, we must make it change its ways.

.Madam, in conclusion, I would like to say that I endorse a considered, deliberated and prepared-for action. But that action must take place and that action must be decisive. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Manoj Bhattacharya. Manojji, you know that you have four minutes. The Home Minister is already there.

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA : I thank you very much, Madam, for allotting to me four minutes. I was afraid you would allot to me only three minutes' time.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am generous enough.

SHRI MANOJ BHATTACHARYA: Madam, I was very keenly hearing, since yesterday, the very lively discussion - I should not say 'debate'--on the question of terrorism and with particular reference to the dastardly attack on the heart of the Indian democracy, that is, our Parliament, on the fateful day of the 13th of December, the black Thursday. Madam, on behalf of my party, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, I salute the Watch and Ward Staff, the security personnel attached to the Delhi Police and the C.R.P.F. personnel, for the supreme sacrifice made by them. I am sure, but for their sacrifice of this sort, but for their courage, but for their valour and but for their adherence to duty, the heart of the Indian Democracy would have been demolished to a great extent, and many of us would not have been here to discuss all these important issues. When I am talking about this, I do not confine myself in saluting the bravery of the security staff and the Watch and Ward Staff of the Rajya Sabha, in particular. I cannot forget the names of Jagdish Prasad Yadav or Matbar Singh Negi. I fully endorse the views expressed by the hon. Member, Shri Shankar Roy Chowdhury, that henceforth, we should be very careful about the Watch and Ward Staff of ours. We should see to it that they are properly armed. At least, small arms should be provided to them. Their insurance coverage must be increased. At the same time, on inquiry, I found that the walky-talky that they use, is age-old, and in the present scenario, the same should expeditiously be replaced by some modern equipment so that the pace of communication can be increased to a considerable extent. At the same time, I also suggest that they should be provided with adequate risk coverage. The Government must consider the issue of adequate coverage for the Watch and Ward Staff. Since we are talking about terrorism, since we are talking about the global phenomenon of terrorism, kindly excuse me for making some references, because, I feel that much of the introspection has already taken place in this House, and those issues have already been spelt out by many hon. Members, that instead of reactive, the Government should have been proactive. I am sure that the right signal has gone to the Government, and they will be plugging the loopholes. I also do not want to echo the sense of

unity that has emerged over here in this discussion that the nation is united in combating the menace of terrorism, particularly, the cross-border terrorism, and the nation is quite united in fighting against any of the onslaughts perpetrated unfortunately by the neighbouring country of ours. But I once again say-I may be repetitive in that sense that on 11th September, the United States of America was caught unaware. They perhaps could not comprehend that they would be attacked like this, the WTC tower can be domolished like this. They did not comprehend it ever even in their dreams that the invincible Pentagon can be attacked like this. But, so far as we are concerned, we were apprehending this sort of attack. So, had the Government been proactive in a better manner, they would have avoided the loss of precious lives of the Watch and Ward Staff, the security personnel attached to the Delhi Police as well as the CRPF personnel.I would say that let us try to address the problem of terrorism at the root of it. The terrorism is born out of the womb of poverty, deprivation, unemployment and other economic, social and political evils. Madam, through you, I would like to urge upon the Government of India that they should expeditiously address themselves to these problems. If they are really desirous that India should be a country where the head is held high and the mind is free, as Tagore dreamt almost a century back, the Government of India should address the problem of poverty, social alienation and unemployment, and all these problems should be addressed expeditiously, because they are inseparable. The problem of terrorism cannot be solved unless the problem of social evils is taken care of. With these words, I conclude.

SHRI S. PETER ALPHONSE (Tamil Nadu): Madam, before going to the vital points of this issue, I make a request that we should have a small monument for those poor people who sacrificed their lives inside the Parliament. We Should have, at least, a small plaque of stone inscribing the names of all those people who had sacrificed their lives to protect democracy, at some place, a conspicuous place, in the Parliament House so that the future generations may remember that there was an attack, and there were some brave people who sacrificed their lives in protecting the soul of democracy, who were willing to sacrifice their lives for protecting democracy. Madam, the Home Minister is also here. I make an appeal on behalf of my Party, Tamil Maanila Congress, that we should have a kind of monument to remember all those brave people who sacrificed their lives for protecting the democracy, who were ready to give everything they had, just to keep the Parliamentary system going.

The other thing is this. Although much has been said and much has been told, I would like to remind the House only one sentence which was given out by the terrorist group when they missed an attack on the British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher. When the Irish terrorists missed an attack, the next day, they issued a press-release; they sent a message: "Mrs. Thatcher, you have to be always lucky, but we have to be lucky only once." So, yesterday, or the other day when the incident took place, we can't ignore an element of luck, but for that, the whole House would have been a monument of shambles and fallen pillars to speak to the posterity that the greatest symbol of democracy was destroyed by a handful of terrorists. But for that element of luck, we should have been very careful. And I would like to tell the House that this is not the end; this is only a beginning. There was a report in the newspapers that there was a confusion for one of the accused, that they had some kind of a plan to demolish and destroy the Delhi Airport, and for what reasons they had dropped it. That was how the news was reported. But I would like to tell the Government that they had not dropped anything; they had only postponed it.

Yesterday, I happened to listen to a discussion on the Star T.V. During the News Hour, when our Minister, hon. Jaitley, was discussing some issue with Mrs. Ambika Soni, an hon. Member of the House, through the media, he was trying to give out as if the Opposition is not cooperative. I am a Member of the Opposition, and as a Member of the Opposition, I would like to guarantee, and with all confidence and the national fervour in me, I would like to say that the Opposition stands with the Government. Can the Government point out a single occasion or a single incident, for the past two-and-a-half years, leave alone the domestic issues, when a crucial issue came up and we were not with the Government? Immediately after its taking over, when there were Pokhran blasts, we had our differences of opinion, like a political party; we were never for it, but we just mentioned that the blasts would create an unnecessary arms race in the region and it would strain the already strained State's Exchequer. And nobody was prepared to listen to us. Somebody told us that it would be a deterrent, and by simply blasting this bomb, Pakistan would never come to this side! We kept quiet because if we gave our idea, we would have been labelled as anti-national. We were never interested; we kept quiet. When the hon. Prime Minister made a trip to Lahore, we had our own apprehensions, but we never gave out what we had in our mind. When the Kargil War took place, we were willing to point out that there was an intelligence failure, but

you never allowed us to speak for ourselves. You told us, "This is not the time to speak. You wait. If you speak, the morale of the soldiers will be spoiled, and the country will get a different picture!" We kept quiet. And, then, immediately you invited President Musharraf here! We were willing to tell you, "You need some more preparations. Wait for some time. Summit is the last thing in a diplomatic exercise." But you wanted to begin it from the first. And we kept quiet. In all that, we never stood against the Government. We never opposed the Government. Though we had a difference of opinion, we stood by the Government. Finally, what had happened? The enemy crossed the international border; the enemy crossed the Line of Control; the enemy came to Kashmir. Now, the enemy is coming and stareing at the Parliament itself. Even then you want us to stand by you. We are prepared to stand by you, if you are prepared to stand by the nation. Thank you.

उपसभापती : श्री राजीव रंजन सिंह 'ललन'। आपकी बहुत मेहरबानी होगी सब लोगों पर अगर आप पांच मिनट में ही खत्म कर दें।

श्री राजीव रंजन सिंह 'ललन' :महोदया , 1 3 दिसम्बर की जो घटना है इसकी सभी दलों के नेताओं और सभी वक्ताओं नें निंदा की है। मैं समझता हूं कि इसकी जितनी तीव्र निंदा की जाए , कम होगी क्योंकि 1 3 दिसम्बर को हमारे देश की प्रजातांत्रिक प्रणाली की सर्वोच्च संस्था पर आतंकवादियों द्वारा हमला करने का प्रयास हुआ। महोदया, इसके साथ ही हमें खुशी भी है कि इस देश के वीर सपूतों ने अपनी कुर्बानी देकर उनको इस संस्थान के अंदर प्रवेश तक नहीं करने दिया और उन पांचों आतंकवादियों को मार गिराया। इसलिए महोदय इसकी जितनी तीव्र निंदा की जाए कम होगी। आज उन वीर सपूतों ने अपना बलिदान देकर इतिहास के पन्नों में अपना नाम दर्ज कराया है। भारत के इतिहास में इस घटना का जब भी उल्लेख होगा, इनको याद किया जाएगा। आज हम सबको और पूरे देश को इनके प्रति सच्चे श्रद्धा सुमन अर्पित करने चाहिएं और किए जा रहे हैं। महोदया, सुषमा जी ने अपने भाषण में कहा कि इस घटना के तीन दिन के अंदर सभी षडयंत्रकारियों का पर्दाफाश हुआ है और सभी मुख्य षडयंत्रकारी पकडे गए। सारी स्थिति देश के सामने आ गई जिससे यह साफ और स्पष्ट हो गया कि यह सारी घटना पाकिस्तान समर्थित आई.एस. आई. स्पॉनसर्ड स्कीम थी और अब इसका पूरा पर्दाफाश हो चुका है। महोदया , तीन दिनों के अंदर जो पर्दाफाश हुआ है इसके लिए यह सरकार बधाई की पात्र है। कल मैं माननीय विरोधी दल के नेता और माननीय प्रणव दा का भाषण सुन रहा था। इन्होंने अपने भाषण में सिक्योरिटी लैप्स की चर्चा की। आज इस संकट की घडी में सुरक्षा की खामियों को उजागर करने का समय नहीं है। इस देश में प्रधान मंत्री आवास पर प्रधान मंत्री की हत्या हो गई थी , क्या वह सिक्योरिटी लैप्स नहीं था ? क्या वह सुरक्षा की खामियां नहीं थी ? जब कांग्रेस के समर्थन से चन्द्रशेखर जी की सरकार चल रही थी तब राजीव गांधी जी की हत्या हो गई, क्या यह सिक्योरिटी लैप्स नहीं था ? महोदया, आज यह समय नहीं है कि सुरक्षा की खामियों पर चर्चा करें। आज यह समय है कि हम एकजुट होकर इस संकट की घडी में सरकार को समर्थन दें। सरकार इन आतंकवादियों को नेस्तनाबूद करने में जो भी कदम उठाए , पूरा सदन और पूरा देश इसमें

साथ दे । महोदया , यहां अमेरिका के सैक्रेटरी आफ स्टेट कोलिन पावेल की भी चर्चा हुई है, हमको कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है । हम अपने देश के आतंकवाद से निपटने के लिए स्वयं सक्षम हैं । हम कोलिन पावेल और अमेरिका की ओर क्यों देखें । हमको चाहिए कि हम अमेरिका को यह बता दें कि 11 सितम्बर और 13 दिसम्बर की घटना को आतंकवाद की परिभाषा में अलग-अलग नहीं देखना चाहते । भारत दोनों ही घटनाओं को एक साथ देखना चाहता है । कोलिन पावेल और कल नेता विरोधी दल ने भी कहा कि आज की परिस्थिति में हमें संयम बरतने की आवश्यकता है । महोदया , संयम बरतने का समय अब नहीं है ...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री नागेन्द्र नाथ ओझा (**बिहार**) : कूद जाइए ...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री राजीव रंजन सिंह '**ललन**' : आप तो कभी नहीं कूदिएगा क्योंकि आप सब दिन विपरीत दिशा में चलते रहे हैं इसलिए कूदिएगा नहीं ...(व्यवधान) ...

उपसभापति : अभी आपस में बातचीत न करके मेरी तरफ देखकर बोलिए । आप उनकी तरफ क्यों देख रहे हैं ।

श्री राजीव रंजन सिंह '**ललन**' : महोदया , हमें स्मरण करना चाहिए कि जब श्रीलंका में आतंकवाद चल रहा था तो हमने वहां इंडियन पीसकीपिंग फोर्स भेजी थी । उसमें हमारे हजारों सैनिक शहीद हुए थे । हम आतंकवाद के खिलाफ लडने के लिए संकलित हैं । हम लडेंगे । अगर आज हमारे देश में आतंकवाद बढ़ रहा है तो हम अमरिका की ओर क्यों देखें ? हम उन्हें यह बता देंगे कि हम अपने देश के आतंकवाद से लड़ने में स्वयं सक्षम हैं और हम इससे लडेंगे । आज अगर अमरिका आतंकवाद के खिलफ हमारी लडाई में साथ नहीं देता तो वह एक्सपोज होगा । अमरीका ने 11 सितम्बर की घटना के बाद कहा था कि हम पूरे विश्व से आतंकवाद को समाप्त करेंगे । आज अगर अमरीका इस लडाई में हमारा समर्थन नहीं करगा तो वह पूरे विश्व में एक्सपोज होगा कि वह आतंकवाद से लड़ने के लिए गंभीर नहीं है और यह बात केवल अमरीका की 11 सितम्बर की डब्ल्यू .टी. सी. और पेंटागन की घटना तक सीमित थी । आज आवश्यकता यह नहीं है कि हम अमरीका की ओर देखें बल्कि हम कोई निर्णय लें और अपने निर्णय से अमरिका को अवगत कराएं । आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हम एकजुट होकर सरकार को अपना पूर्ण समर्थन दें । सरकार को आतंकवाद को समाप्त करने के लिए सख्त कदम उठाने पर उसका साथ दें। धन्यवाद ।

श्री प्रफुल्ल पटेल (**महाराष्ट्र**) : धन्यवाद मैडम, आपको घंटी दबाने की नौबत नहीं आएगी मैं संक्षिप्त बोलूंगा । आज हम सब लोग यहां मौजूद हैं, एक खुली सांस ले रहे हैं और अहलुवालिया जी मुस्करा रहे हैं । इसकी वजह है कि कई बहादुरों ने अपना दायित्व निभाते हुए देश के लिए और देश के लोकतंत्र की रक्षा करते हुए अपनी जान की कुर्बानी दे दी । उसमें सुरक्षाकर्मी थे, पार्लियामेंट का वाच एंड वार्ड का स्टाफ था । हम सब लोगों ने , पूरे देश ने , इस सदन ने अपनी भावना उनके साथ,उनके परिवारजनों के साथ जोडी है । अपनी श्रद्धांजलि उन्हें अर्पित की है और मैं अपनी ओर से उसी भावना के साथ उन्हें श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूं ।

महोदया, इस देश में आतंकवाद कई वर्षों से चलता आ रहा है । सवाल यह नहीं है कि आज सत्ता में कौन है और उस आतंकवाद का मुकाबला कैसे किया जा रहा है । सियासत में रहने वाले इस पार के लोग हों या उस पार के लोग हों आतंकवाद ने बडे- बडे हमले किए हैं, बडे - बडे

लोगों का शिकार आतंकवाद की वजह से हुआ है । इंदिरा जी की जान गई, राजीव जी की जान गई, इस देश के जनक महात्मा गांधी की जान जाना भी आतंकवाद का ही एक प्रकार का नमूना था और इसी वजह से इस देश में आतंकवाद पिछले कई वर्षों से अनेक प्रकार से अपना रूप धारण करता नजर आया है । उत्तर पूर्व के राज्य हों, चाहे नक्सलवाद का प्रकोप हो, चाहे उत्तर भारत में पाकिस्तान द्वारा स्पोंसर्ड टेरेरिज्म हो, इस देश ने आतंकवाद का कई प्रकार से मुकाबला किया है । मैं इस बारे में ज्यादा कुछ नहीं कहना चाहूंगा । कई लोगों की भावनाएं रही हैं कि आतंकवाद को कुचला जाए । हम सब लोगों के मन में भी यही भावना होती है कि जिस प्रकार से पाकिस्तान की तरफ से लश्कर-ए-तोएबा और जैश-ए –मुहम्मद जैसे संगठनों को मदद पहुंचाई जा रही है उसके बारे में देश की भी एक सामूहिक भावना है कि पाकिस्तान को सबक सिखाया जाए, उसे कुचला जाए । लेकिन सरकार किसी भी प्रकार से ऐसे वातावरण का निर्माण न करे, ऐसा दबाव न लाये जिससे सरकार को भावनात्मक कदम उठाना पडे । आज जियोपोलिटिकल परिस्थितियां जो हैं, अभी जनरल राय चौधरी जी ने यहां पर जो कहा उसके साथ मैं अपनी भावनाओं को जोडना चाहता हूं कि दुनिया अब पहले जैसे बंटी हुई नहीं है । अब यूनीपोलर वर्ल्ड है । आज चाहे पाकिस्तान हो,चाहे अफ़गानिस्तान हो, उनके परिसर में अमेरिका जैसी सुपर पावर अपने पैर जमा बैठी हुई है । जब कारगिल की लडाई हुई थी तो मुझे मालूम है कि हम लोग उस समय भी चर्चा करते थे कि हमारी फौजों को एलओसी पार करके पाकिस्तान के ऊपर हमला कर देना चाहिए । लेकिन इंटरनेशनल कम्युनिटी का प्रेशर कहो या जो भी उस समय की परिस्थिति थी , वह काम इतना आसान नहीं था कि हम वहां पर अपना मोर्चा खोलें, वहां पर उनका मुकाबला करें । महोदय, यहां पर हम लोगों की अलग अलग भाषणों में एक ही भावना प्रकट हुई है । हम सब लोगों ने सरकार के हाथ मजबूत करने की बात कही है ताकि आज की इस परिस्थिति का हम डटकर मुकाबला कर सकें और इसके लिए हम एक हुए हैं । इजरायल की यहां पर चर्चा हुई कि इजरायल एक छोटा सा देश है , जिस पर आतंकवादियों के हमले होते आए हैं और वह पिछले इतने सालों में अपने अस्तित्व की लडाई को किस तरह से लड रहा है । आज भारत जैसा देश, इतना महान देश जो है , जिसकी 100 करोड की जनसंख्या है, यहां के लोग यहां पर जिस तरह से अपनी भावनायें व्यक्त कर रहे है, क्या इतना बडा गणतंत्र अपनी खुद की अस्तित्व की लडाई नहीं लड सकता , यह प्रश्न हम लोगों के सामने है । मुझे आडवाणी जी से विनती करनी है कि कल के अखबार को पढ़कर मुझे बहुत दुख हुआ । जो कैबिनेट कमेटी और सिक्योरटी की मीटिंग हुई, उस कैबिनेट कमेटी और सिक्योरिटी मीटिंग के कई अंश , सही है या गलत, यह मैं नहीं कहना चाहता, लेकिन यह बात अखबार में छपकर आई है कि आपके आर्मी, एयरफोर्स और नेवी के जो चीफ आफ स्टाफउस कमेटी को ब्रीफ करने आए थे उन्होंने कहा कि हमारा देश आज लडाई के लिए तैयार नहीं है । "We are not in a full state of preparedness." इस प्रकार के कई बयान अखबारों में छपकर आए हैं । अगर यह बात सही है तो इसको दुरुस्त किया जाए , अगर गलत है तो इसका खंडन किया जाए और यह खंडन सरकार की ओर से देश के लोगों के सामने आना चाहिए । अगर आप इसका खंडन नहीं करेंगे तो देश क्या, विदेशों में जो हमारे दुश्मन बैठे हुए हैं उनको हमारी तैयारियों के बारे जानकारी मिलेगी । इसलिए इसके बारे में सोचना और इसके बारे में जवाब देना यह आपका काम है । सौभाग्य से डिफेंस मिनिस्टर यहां बैठे हुए हैं । फारुक अब्दुल्ला जी ने जब कश्मीर असेंबली पर हमला हुआ और जब कश्मीर पर अन्य आतंकवादी हमले हुए तो उनका बयान आया कि हमें लडाई लडनी चाहिए और पाकिस्तान को कुचल देना चाहिए । इस तरह की भावनायें जो वहां के नेतृत्व ने व्यक्त

की हैं, इसी तरह का एक स्ट्रांग मैसेज इस देश की ओर से , इस सदन की ओर से जाना चाहिए , यह मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूं ।

महोदय, मैं अब ज्यादा बातें न करते हुए सरकार से विनती करुंगा कि देश के हित में, इस गणराज्य के हित में आप ऐसे उचित कदम लें और किसी भी प्रकार से चाहे वह मीडिया प्रेशर हो , अन्य पोलिटिकल प्रेशर हों उसमें न जाएं लेकिन देश को एक रखने के लिए , अक्षुण्ण रखने के लिए , सुषमा बहन यहां बैठी हैं , उन्होंने सुबह यहां पर अपने भाषण में जो भावनायें व्यक्त की हैं उसको आप करें । यहां टैररिज्म के मामले में पिछले कुछ दिनों से , मैं पोटो की बात नहीं करुंगा लेकिन टैररिज्म के खिलाफ सशक्त कायदा होना चाहिए , इसके बारे में सभी लोगों ने बात कही । आडवाणी जी अगर आपने कुछ समय पहले सब को साथ ले लिया होता तो शायद परिस्थिति कुछ और स्वरुप धारण करती लेकिन पोटो की लडाई को एक ईगो की लडाई में , एक मजहब की लडाई में परिवर्तित कर दिया गया । पिछले दिनों जो इस विषय में कंस्ट्रक्टिव व्यूज आने चाहिए थे , जो प्रकट होने चाहिए थे , वह नहीं हुए कि उसमें क्या खामियां हैं और उनको कैसे दूर किया जा सकता है और लोगों के मन में जो शंका या कुशंका का निर्माण हुआ है यह कैसे दूर हो सकता है, इसके बारे में शायद कम चर्चा हुई है । लेकिन मुझे लगता है कि 13 दिसम्बर की इस घटना के बाद देश में एक नए वातावरण का निर्माण हुआ है । शायद सरकार के मन में भी एक नयी जागृति का निर्माण हुआ होगा जिसकी वजह से इन सारी बातों को आगे आने वाले दिनों में आप दुरुस्त कर सकें । देश की भावनाओं के साथ, सदन की भावनाओं के साथ मैं विपक्ष की ओर से अपने आप को जोडता हूं और सरकार को आगे परिस्थिति का मुकाबला किस तरह से किया जा सकता है, उसमें पूरा पूरा समर्थन जाहिर करता हूं ।

SHRIMATI JAYAPRADA NAHATA (Andhra Pradesh): Madam, it is hard to believe that there was an attack on Parliament. People outside Parliament raised their eyebrows in shock and they asked us, "Has it really happened?" It has happened! There were indications and we were about to discuss it in the House; but, somehow, we could not discuss it. Madam, this attack is not just an attack on Parliament; it is an attack on our democracy, on the true symbol of our democracy, which is the largest democracy in the world. Eight people have been killed. And we came to know that yesterday a Head Constable had also died. This is the time to pay our condolences to the families of those people who have sacrificed their valuable lives - and we must appreciate their courage - to protect Parliament and the Parliamentarians. From our Telegu Desam Party, all our Members have decided to contribute one month's salary. Madam, it is not the money that matters, but it is the feeling and the sentiment which matter. This is the time when we should give full support to their families that are in crisis. समुन्द्र में जब राम ने पुल बनाने की कोशिश की थी उस टाइम इसी तरह से एक गिलहरी ने अपने बदन पर रेती लगा कर राम की मदद करने के लिए कोशिश की ।

5.00 p.m.

Madam, on August 15, we celebrate our Independence Day. In Jammu and Kashmir also, the terrorists had attacked the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly, and we had a discussion on that attack in this House. It is unfortunate that today we are discussing about this attack on Parliament and how to protect our Parliament. Madam, terrorists are mad. They do not know what they are doing. Their only aim is to destroy this country, and they have shown their evil designs, and they have shown their true colours. Their organisations are spread all over the country; they have their own local units. They have the latest and sophisticated weapons and powerful bombs. They have a strong network. First of all, we have to curb all their activities. If we don't defeat them, they will defeat us. The existing laws are not adequate, I feel. I don't want to go into the controversy whether our security arrangements have been appropriate or not. But everybody was surprised as to how they could enter the Parliament complex and how they could get a Home Ministry's label, or whether it was a false label. People cannot believe that terrorists can enter with a Home Ministry's label. We need proper security arrangements outside the gates of Parliament also - some sort of scanning - so that we can get an indication of such type of occurrences in advance.

Madam, I appreciate the efforts of the personnel of the CRPF and the Delhi Police who acted promptly against the terrorists. That is why now we are in the House and debating on this issue. Madam, our country has been facing the problem of terrorism and cross-border terrorism for the last 20 years. Due to that, our country could not grow economically, as expected. In order to overcome the problem of terrorism, the Government has promulgated the Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance. It is necessary that on this issue we should be one and show to the world that we are united to end the evil designs of the terrorists. We may have difference of opinion on many issues; we may differ on various matters, like economic policies, political issues, etc. At times, we have heated discussions on these issues in the House, but this is not a political issue. This relates to the sovereignty and unity of our country. The Government is taking all the steps to face the challenge of terrorism. All of us should unitedly fight against terrorism so that the terrorists and their activities are rooted out.

Madam, the Government has enacted a number of legislations. For example, we have the Dowry (Prohibition) Act. This Act prevents atrocities on women. It has really protected the suffering women in our society.

Unless a law is used, one cannot say whether that law is good or bad. In Andhra Pradesh, we are also facing the problem of PWG. Our Chief Minister has given all the support to POTO. As I said earlier, this is not a political issue. I think it is the right time to take a decision so that terrorism is rooted out from this country. Madam, I request all the Members of this House that we should show to the world that we are one on this issue and we can take the decision. We all know that Pakistan and the ISI are supporting these terrorist groups. We are not able to take any decision because we have the Pakistan International Airline and we have the bus *yatra.* For the time being, in order to control all these things, why can't we suspend it? मैडम , सवेरे सुषमाजी ने कहा था कि हम सब एक्शन प्लान करेंगे क्योंकि... When the discussion took place, all the parties expressed their own doubts about the action plan which the Government has in mind, उन्होनें कहा था कि एक्शन प्लान होगा तो हिदुस्तान में ही होगा । जब हिंदुस्तान में एक्शन प्लान होगा तो हम सब देश की रक्षा के लिए, देशहित के लिए काम करेंगे । हम सब एक –एक परमाणु की तरह काम करेंगे और देश को और देश के सौहार्द को कायम रखने की कोशिश करेंगे । In this context, I would like to quote in Hindi

' हसीन है तो यह वतन हसीनतर बनाएंगे,
तुझे नमन करेंगे, दुश्मनों का सिर झुकाएंगे। '

SHRI KULDIP NAYYAR (Nominated): Nor do I favour any war against Pakistan. I don't want any hot pursuit. Nor do I want that there should be any bombing. Yet, the fact remains that Pakistan has been doing it again and again. It did it in Srinagar, it did it in Red Fort and it has done it now.

Since there is credible evidence given by the Home Minister in his Statement, the fact remains that Lashkar-e-Toyyaba and Jaish-e-Mohammad are still operating from Pakistan. It is true that President Musharraf is trying to do something against the fundamentals but the fact remains that he is riding two boats. When it comes to India, he acts differently and when it comes to others like Taliban, he acted differently. The sentiments in this country are very high. This Government will have to do something about it. I suggest that India should withdraw its High Commissioner from Pakistan. I don't want the diplomatic relations to be stopped; I want that as a protest, as a manifestation of our anger. The High Commissioner we have in Islamabad should be recalled. Also, we must understand that in India, this anti-Pakistan becomes anti-Muslim feeling. It is true that.....

SHRI B.P. SINGHAL: It is not so; it is absolutely false.

SHRI KULDIP NAYYAR: It may be your perception; I am talking about my perception. I don't know how many Muslims you meet. But, in any case, there is a fear in their minds. We are still bearing the scars of partition, even after 55 years.

The Home Minister is right in saying that the two-nation theory is bad. It is true that two nation theory is very suicidal. But, sometimes,. I -feel that in the name of one nation, we too are having two nations. I hope I am wrong, but the fact remains that you consider Dandi March and Rath Yatra as one and the same thing. Its comparison is ridiculous. How can you say this kind of a thing? Again you say that we believe in secularism. We have to give a faith to the Muslims here who feel very...

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : युद्ध और क्राइस्ट ने भी यात्रा की थी। 45 साल बुद्ध ने , 30 साल क्राइस्ट ने और माओ ने भी यात्रा की थी। यात्राएं तो सब ने की थी ।

श्री कुलदीप नैयर : अच्छे काम के लिए की थी। . . . (**व्यवधान**) . . . वह अच्छे काम के लिए थी। **. . .** (**व्यवधान**) . . . फसाद तो नहीं हुए थे। **. . .** (**व्यवधान**) . . .

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : कोई फसाद नहीं हुआ था। **. . .** (**व्यवधान**) . . .

उपसभापति : देखिए, अभी समय कम है **. . .** (**व्यवधान**) . . .

SHRI KULDIP NAYYAR: I was happy to hear today, the Prime Minister's assurance but this assurance is not enough. We have to do something whereby the confidence of the Muslims is raised here. We have to do something whereby the Hindu communalism is suppressed. Something will have to be done.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Just one second. *...(Interruptions)...* There are communal persons in every community. The terrorists who came here to attack the Parliament, they were also communal because they were brainwashed. Please do not identify. Communalism is a different thing and terrorism is another thing. If they had been sensible, they would not have done it. *...(Interruptions)...*They have been brainwashed. There are communal elements in every community. So, please do not identify any one community...*(Interruptions)...*

SHRI KULDIP NAYYAR: I am saying, other communities also. *...(Interruptions)...*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please do not do that..*(Interruptions)...*

SHRI KULDIP NAYYAR: I am saying that communalism gives rise to terrorism.... *(Interruptions)...* I am saying that. *...(Interruptions)...*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Whatever may be the name, Jaish-e-*Mohammad..(Interruptions)...*Please keep quiet. *...(Interruptions)... One* minute please. *...(Interruptions)...* Those organisations are in Pakistan and we have evidence of it. *...(Interruptions)... Are* they not communal? Are those terrorists not communal? They have killed sixty thousand people in Kashmir itself in the name of Islam. So, we should condemn those people in the strongest possible word.

SHRI KULDIP NAYYAR: I have condemned it, Madam. *...(Interruptions)...]* have, in fact, said that the High Commissioner should be recalled. *...(Interruptions)...*Communalism of Hindus, Muslims and even Sikhs..*(Interruptions)...* Let me conclude. *...(Interruptions)...*

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : मैडम, ये शब्द कार्यवाही से हटा देने चाहिए . . . (**व्यवधान**) . . . उन शब्दों को हटाइए । . . . (**व्यवधान**) . . .

श्री जीवन राय (पश्चिमी बंगाल) देश से क्षमा मांगो । . . . (**व्यवधान**) . . .

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : मैडम, वे शब्द कार्यवाही से हटा देने चाहिए . . . (**व्यवधान**) . . .

उपसभापति : I will look into the record. *...(Interruptions)...* आपखुद ही विदड्रा कर लीजिए या एक्सप्लेन कर दीजिए ।

SHRI KULDIP NAYYAR: Communalism gives birth to terrorism. So, communalism of any kind is bad. I am not saying one or the other communal. *.(Interruptions)...* Please allow me to finish my sentence. *...(Interruptions)...* Madam, December 13 is the day which we will always remember. So, my suggestion is that on that day we light candles on the Main Gate every year on 13th December. Cn the Main Gate, on the steps, we should light candles to remember not only the people who have given their lives, who have sacrificed their lives, but also remember that what could happen to our temple of democracy. It is important, Madam, those people who came here whether they were after the leaders or whether they were after the MPs, they kindled in India such a determination in favour of democracy, unity and pluralism. Pluralism is no less than democracy. Thank you very much.

† **मिर्जा अब्दुल रशीद** (जम्मू और कश्मीर) : मैडम चेयरपरसन,शुक्रिया ।

कुछ बात है कि हस्ती मिटती नहीं हमारी ।
सदियों रहा है दुश्मन दौरे जमां हमारा ।

मैडम, 13 दिसम्बर को हमारे इस पुर-वकार और काविले एतराम जम्हूरी इदारे पर जो हमला हुआ वह देश पर हमला है, देश कि सालमियत पर हमला है, देश के इतिहास पर हमला है, देश की तारिक पर हमला है, देश की आजादी पर हमला है, देश की खुद- मुखतारी पर हमला है । देश की यह जो इमारत है इस इमारत ने सौ करोड़ से ज्यादा भारतीयों की तकदीर को संभाल कर रखा है, जहां हर मिनट में तारीख बनती है, तारीख संवरती है, हर शख्स की किस्मत संवरती है, इसलिए भारत की तारिख पर यह सबसे घिनौना,सबसे बुरा हमला है और बहुत बडा चेलेन्ज है । मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि मुझे यह अहसास हो रहा है कि हमारे मुल्क की पालिसी शांति की है, हमारे मुल्क का प्रोग्राम जो है यह भाई चारे का है हमारे मुल्क का पैगाम मोहब्बत का है, इस लिए अल्लाहताला ने और भगवान ने इस सुसाइडल अटैक से हमारी इस अजीम इमारत को भी बचाया और अहले इमारत को भी बचाया । मैंने इसलिए कहा कि बचाया, क्योंकि आज की दुनिया का सुपर पावर जो अमरीका है उसकी टिंवन टावर नहीं बच सकी, जो दुनिया की तकदीर लिखता है, आज की दुनिया की सबसे बडी बिल्डिंग पेंटागन, जो दुनिया की तकदीर लिखती है वह नहीं बच सकी,लेकिन हमारे भारत की यह अजीम इमारत बच गई । यह अल्लाह का बहुत बडा करम है ।

मैडम,दुनिया की खबर रखने वाला अपनी खबर नहीं रख सका, लेकिन हमारे बहदुरों ने, हमारे रक्षाकर्मियों ने जिस हिम्मत से, जिस बहादुरी से मुकाबला करते हुए अपनी जान की कुर्वानी देने से पहले ही जो हमलावार थे उनकी लाशों का ढेर किया और उसके बाद खुद भी मिट गए । मिट की तारिख है कि हिन्दुस्तान की तारिख में हमेशा के लिए अमिट हो गए । इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि -

बेगई हुए कोई उभरता नही है ।
जो कौम पर मरता है वह मरता ही नहीं है ।

तो हम झुक के उनको सलाम करते हैं, उनकी बहादुरी को सलाम करते हैं, उनके मुकद्दर को सलाम करते हैं कि हमेशा उनको भारत की तारीख में याद किया जाएगा ।

मैडम, टेररिज्म आज दिल्ली की इमारत तक पहुंचा, भारत की इमारत तक पहुंचा, लेकिन टेररिज्म का जो गढ है, जो मैदाने-जंग टेररिज्म का पाकिस्तान ने बनया है, वह कश्मीर है । कश्मीर में पिछ्ले 15 साल से जिस तरीके से लाशों के ढेर हर रोज होते हैं, उसमें न सिर्फ हमरी फौज लड़ती है, मरती है और मारती भी है, लेकिन वहां पर सिविल लोग, हमारी प्रो – इंडिया फोर्सेस, हमारी प्रो – इंडिया पार्टियों से भी लोग होते हैं । हर रोज जब उढकर हम अखबार पढते हैं तो उसमें इस किस्म के बेगुनाह और मासूम लोगों की लाशों की खबर होती है, जो मुल्क के लिए कुर्वानी देते हैं । मैं हाउस की तवज्जोह उस तरफ ले जाना चाहता हूं कि जिस तरीके से

† Transliteration ol the speech in Persian Script is available in the Hindi version of the debate.

यहां हमारे नौ रक्षाकर्मियों ने कुर्बानी दी उसके लिए हम सबको दर्द भी है, उनके लिए कंडोलेन्स भी करते हैं और कण्डेम भी करते हैं ,उसी तरीके से हमारे यहां जो हर रोज इस तरह की कुर्बानी होती हैं , उस पर भी ध्यान जाना चाहिए,वह भी तारीख का हिस्सा होना चाहिए ।

मैडम, हमारे चीफ मिनिस्टर फारूख अब्दुल्ला जी सुबह से लेकर शाम तक ललकार कर कहते हैं कि जम्मू- कश्मीर भारत का हिस्सा था, भारत का हिस्सा है और भारत का हिस्सा रहेगा । हमेशा यही कहते हैं और पाकिस्तान को भी और टेररिज्म को भी चेलेन्ज करते हैं । हम चाहते हैं कि वह जम्मू कश्मीर की धरती पर लड़ रहे हैं उनको जो मदद चाहिए पोलिटिकली , इकोनोमिकली, मोनेटरी, वह भारत सरकार को देना चाहिए ।

मैडम, जब हमरी असेम्बली पर अटैक हुआ, जिस अटैक को फॉर्नर्स ने अटैक किया, जेशे- मोहम्मद की तनजीम ने अटैक किया, उस वक्त अगर वह असली असेम्बली की तरफ चले जाते तो वहां पर आधे से ज्यादा मंत्री बैठे थे, चीफ मिनिस्टर,सभी लोग बैठे थे, एक बहुत बडी तबाही हो जाती, लेकिन वे पुरानी बिल्डिंग मे चले गए और इसलिए मार खा गए । फिर भी उस हादसे में 40 लाशों का ढेर लग गया और सैकडों तडपते हुए जख्मी मौजूद थे । जब उस वक्त चीफ मिनिस्टर ने असैम्बली मे इस नाहक खून को और इस बेबसी के हालात को बयान किया तो रोते हुए कहा कि कम से कम उन अड़डों और उन ठिकानों को हटाया जाए, जहां पर यह मौत के सामान तैयार होते हैं तो उस वक्त उनके यारों ने भी उनका मजाक बनया और दुश्मनों ने तो मजा उठाया । हम यह चाहते हैं कि पाक आकोपाइड कश्मीर, जैसा डा. फारुख साहब ने कहा -Pak Occupied Kashmir is a part of our country, It is a part of our State, हमारी जम्मू कश्मीर रियासत में 25 सीटें पाक-आकोपाइड कश्मीर के लिए रखी हुई हैं , हमारे महाराजा हरि सिंह जी ने वहां का इंस्टूमेंट आफ एकसेशन भारत सरकार के साथ किया हैं, पाकिस्तान सरकार के साथ नहीं किया है, इसलिए आप उन ठिकानों को जहां से मौत का सामान तैयार होते हैं उनको हटाया जाए , उनको मिटाया जाए । मेरा ख्याल है कि सारी दुनिया इसमें आपका साथ देगी । मैं इस बात का यहां जिक्र करुंगा कि इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि हमारी तारीख हमें यह सिखाती है कि हम अमन के पैगम्बर हैं दुनिया में , लेकिन आज दुनिया बदल चुकी है । आज अमरीका कहीं अमन बुलाता है , कहीं पर वह मरवाता है, कहीं खुद मारता है , कहीं सैंक्शन लगाता है , किसी को हटाता है । आज दुनिया की ताकत अमरीका ने अपने हाथ में रखी है । रुस के बिखर जाने के बाद ताकत का तवाजुनन बिगड़ गया है और इस ताकत के तवाजुन को बनाने के लिए क्या यही अच्छा होता यदि नॉन ऐलाइनमेंट मूवमेंट को रिवाइव किया जाता ताकि अंडरडेवलप कंट्री भी अपनी जिन्दगी गुजार सकतीं , लेकिन ऐसा कोई कर नहीं रहा है ।

मैं सिर्फ दो बातें आपसे कहना चाहूंगा , मुझे इजाज़त दीजिए । 1965 में जनरल अय्यूब ने हमला किया और इनफिल्ट्रेटर्ट कश्मीर में भेजे । उस वक्त शास्त्रीजी ने बहुत समझाया और अगर उस वक्त शास्त्रीजी लाहौर की तरफ नहीं बढ़ते तो वे इनफिल्ट्रेटर्स आज भी ज्म्मू-कश्मीर में तबाही मचाते , लेकिन जिस वक्त वे आगे बढ़े तो चंद घंटों में वे इनफिल्ट्रेटर्स उन्होंने वापिस बुला लिए । उसके बाद ताशकंद समझौता हुआ और दुनिया में पाकिस्तान शर्मिन्दा भी हुआ । इसी तरीके से 1971 में जब हिन्दुस्तान पर जनरल याहया खान ने हमला किया , उस वक्त अगर इंदिराजी आगे नहीं बढ़तीं , बंगलादेश नहीं बनता , मशरबी पाकिस्तान , बंगलादेश नहीं होता और अगर आज वह भी मरकजी पाकिस्तान का हिस्सा होता तो दोनों तरफ से यह अजाब हमारे भारत के लिए होता । लेकिन इंदिराजी ने आगे बढ़कर न सिर्फ तारीफ बल्कि ज्योग्राफिया भी बनाया और

जो 90,000 की उनकी फौज थी , सिपाही थे उनको भी तारीखी तौर पर कैद करवाकर उनके हवाले किया । यह तारीख का बहुत बडा हिस्सा है , जिसके बाद शिमला समझौता भी हुआ । हम नहीं चाहते कि जंग हो लेकिन इस वक्त हिन्दुस्तान की जनता एक चीज़ चाहती है । मैं गवर्नमेंट से गुजारिश करना चाहूंगा कि इस वक्त जनता करारा जवाब चाहती है कि जिस तरीके से हमले हुए हैं , हम हमला नहीं करना चाहते लेकिन जनता हमलों का जवाब जरुर चाहती है । जनता करारा जवाब चाहती है ताकि जनता के हौसले भी , जो इस वक्त लगता है कि पस्त हैं , बुलंद हों और उनके हौसले, जो यहां पार्लियामेंट तक पहुंचे हैं , उनके हौसले जो बुलंद हो चुके हैं , उनको रोका जाए , उनके हौसले पस्त किए जाएं । जनता अमन चाहती है , जनता उग्रवाद को रोकना चाहती है , जनता क्रॉस बार्डर टेरेरिज्म को बिल्कुल सख्ती से रोकना चाहती है और हिन्दुस्तान का जितना भी आवाम है , वह चाहता है कि वक्त इस जो अड्डे हैं, जो ठिकाने हैं , जहां मौत के सामान तैयार होते हैं , उनको बंद करो या बंद कराओ और उसके अलावा हमारे हिन्दुस्तान का जो इतिहास है और इस इतिहास के अंदर जो बडी-बडी अलामते हैं , हमारी निशानियां हैं , चाहे वह लाल किला हो या ताज महल हो , वह असेम्बली हो या पार्लियामेंट हो , उनको अच्छे ढ़ंग से महफूज किया जाए , उनकी रखवाली की जाए , उनकी पासबानी की जाए , यह जनता चाहती है । हमारी सरकार , हमारी हुकूमत क्या मैसेज देगी , हम उसका भी इंतजार करते हैं , सारी दुनिया और सारा देश उसका इंतजार करता है ।

जहां तक जम्मू-कश्मीर के आवाम का ताल्लुल है , वे सिर्फ दो चीजें चाहते हैं । पहले जम्मू-कश्मीर की आवाम कहती थी कि हमारे पांव पर ज़ख्म आ गया , मशरिक में आ गया , मशरिम में आ गया , शुमाल में आ गया , जुनूब में आ गया , टांग में आ गया लेकिन अब तो जिगर पर चोट आई है , भारत के जिगर पर चोट आई है , इसलिए अब उनको उम्मीद हो चुकी है कि अगर जिगर पर चोट आई है तो शायद अब हमारे लीडर इसका कुछ बंदोबस्त करेंगे और हमें इस मुसीबत से निजात दिलाएंगे । यही हमारी जम्मू-कश्मीर की मांग है , वरना वे यह कहते हैं कि -खाक हो जाएंगे हम तुमको खबर होने तक । सुबह प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने जो तकरीर की है, सुषमा जी ने जो तकरीर की है उसके बाद सुझाव देने की कोई गुंजाइश नहीं है , लेकिन टाइम कम है , जाते-जाते यूं कहूंगा :-

बदलते दौर में जिसने बदल जाना नहीं सीखा ,
उसी को डालती है गरदिशे अय्याम खतरे में ।।

शुक्रिया ।

उपसभापति : श्री गांधी आजाद । अभी बहुत समय हो गया है, मुझे मालूम है कि आप लोगों के मन में बहुत भावनाएं हैं , मगर उन भावनाओं को आप अगर संक्षेप में बोलें तो अच्छा हो ।

श्री गांधी आजाद (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभापति महोदया , मैं बहुत कम समय लूंगा ।

महोदया , 1 3 दिसम्बर , 2001 को संसद भवन में हुए घातक हमले में जो सुरक्षाकर्मी तथा अन्य कर्मी शहीद हुए हैं , उनके प्रति मैं अपनी तरफ से तथा अपनी पार्टी की तरफ से श्रद्धासुमन अर्पित करता हूं और जो लोग घायल होकर अस्पताल में भर्ती हैं , उनके शीघ्र स्वस्थ होने की शुभकामनाएं करता हूं ।

महोदया , मंत्री महोदय के बयान के पैरा 2 में यह कहा गया है कि ' यह स्पष्ट है कि संसद भवन पर यह आतंकवादी हमला पाक स्थित और समर्थित आतंकवादी गुटों नामतः लश्करे तैयबा और जैश मोहम्मद द्वारा संयुक्त रूप से किया गया था । ये दोनों संगठन पाक आई.एस.आई. की सहायता प्राप्त करते हैं और उन्हें उनका संरक्षण प्राप्त है । ' पैरा 7 में उसी बात को पुख्ता करते हुए कहा गया है कि यह घटना एक बार पुनः सिद्ध करती है कि भारत में आतंकवाद पाकिस्तान स्थित आतंकवादी गुटों काम है जिन्हें पाकिस्तानी ISI से समर्थन और मदद प्राप्त होती है । आगे जाकर कहा गया है कि आई.सी. 814 विमान का अपहरण करके कांधार ले जाना, लाल किले पर आतंकवादी घुसपैठ तथा इस वर्ष एक अक्टूबर को श्रीनगर में जम्मू- कश्मीर विधानसभा परिसर पर हमले की योजना I.S.I. के कहने पर उग्रवादी गुटों द्वारा बनाई गई तथा अंजाम दी गई । देश में आतंकवादी हिंसा करने में विशेष रूप से लश्करे –तैयबा और जैशे-मोहम्मद सबसे आगे हैं । मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि सरकार अब मुतमईन हो गई होगी कि ये सारी घटनाएं जो हुई हैं,ये दो आतंकवादी संगठनों और पाकिस्तान द्वारा की गई हैं।

महोदया, अब देश की जनता सरकार की ओर आशा भरी निगाहों से देख रही है और जानना चाहती है कि इन आतंकवादी संगठनों को नेस्तनाबूद करने के लिए, जड़ से उखाड़ फेंकने के लिए सरकार क्या कदम उठा रही है । दोषारोपण की दृष्टि से तो नहीं लेकिन जिझासा की दृष्टि से देश की जनता यह भी जानना चाहती है कि गुप्तचर तंत्र घटना घटित होने से पूर्व ही इनका पता क्यों नहीं लगा लेते ताकि इस प्रकार की घटनाएं ही घटित न हों ।

महोदया, समाचारपत्रों के माध्यम से यह सर्वविदित था कि देश के प्रमुख लोगों को भी इस प्रकार की घटना की आशंका थी । मैं इस घटना के विषय में जानना चाहता हूं कि आखिर इसे रोकने के लिए क्यों नहीं समुचित व्यवस्था की गई? महोदया, आतंकवाद का देश से ही नहीं, बलिक दुनिया से खात्मा करने की जरूरत है । इसके लिए दृढ़ संकल्प और इच्छा शक्ति की जरूरत है । किसी जाति, समुदाय और धर्म मे कोई एक व्यक्ति दोषी हो सकता है लेकिन पूरी जाति, समुदाय और धर्म दोषी नहीं हो सकता है, इस बात का भी हमें ध्यान रखना पडेगा ।

महोदया,संसद भवन भारत मां के दिल की धड़कन है, इसे मजबूत और सुदृढ़ करने के लिए हम सबको दलगत भावनाओं से ऊपर उठकर, संगठित होकर कार्य करने की आवश्यकता है । ये लोग आतंकवाद का हौआ कब तक खड़ा करते रहेंगे? अगर हम देश में और देश की सरहदों पर शांति चाहते हैं तो हमें युद्ध के लिए तैयार रहना चाहिए क्योंकि यह कहा गया है कि - If you want peace, prepare for war.

अंत में मैं इस घटना में शहीद हुए लोगों को अपने श्रद्धासुमन अर्पित करता हूं। धन्यवाद ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am in difficulty now. जो तीन नाम मैं लूंगी , अगर वे तीन-तीन मिनट-बोलेंगे तो मैं तीनों को इजाज़त दे दूंगी । सिंहल जी, तीन मिनट में बोल दीजिए । He will abide by three minutes.

SHRI B.P. SINGHAL : Madam, you will find my standing up jusiified. Madam, i salute the martyrs who laid down their lives. They have cheated death by becoming immortal. They have now achieved that glorious

death which every man in uniform really desires because people can die a natural death, but a death on duty is a glorious death and they have achieved that by saving all of us. It is a great opportunity for the whole nation to pay a tribute to them now.

Madam, I have been hearing that the Muslims are suspected. I don't know what makes them say this. I heard people saying in great frenzy that the Muslims have to prove their loyalty. The Muslims have proved their loyalty in the wars of 1965, 1971 and 1999. They don't have to prove their loyalties beyond this. But I want to say this, Madam, that the explosions caused by the Deen-dar-Anjuman, the ISI links with SIMI, the scattering of Madrasas right on the borders of our country and the utterances of Imam, cause concern not only to us, but to every one in the House. I am glad that Shabanaji was bold enough to counter the Imam's terrible version.

Madam, I was at Gate No. 12 when all this happened, and I was the first person to witness the whole thing. That car entered in my presence. They started firing when my car was reversing. Madam, there was success in the sense that they could not enter the Parliament House. Notwithstanding what is being said outside, in the Press, and by various leaders, I had expected when all of us assemble here and have a discussion on this, the whole House will applaud and congratulate the Speaker, who is in charge of the entire security arrangements inside the Parliament, and congratulate the Government for what it has saved. But what I heard here is very different. Holes were dug. I am reminded of a cartoon wherein it was shown that one child was drowning in the sea. A man rushed in. The parents standing there were pointing that their child was drowning. That man rushed in, picked up the child, brought it to the parents and asked whether it was their child. They said, " Yes. Thank you so much, but this child was wearing a cap. Where is that?" You see, he brought their child, but they wanted to know where the cap was. Just because that cap was not there, all his efforts to save the child were neutralised. That kind of thinking I have witnessed here, today. After all, how did the security lapse take place at Gate No. 2? I am witness to that. In the last Session, Madam, I was a little late I was coming to Parliament House. I stopped, because a lot of argument was going on between the security man and one man sitting on the rear seat. Arguments after arguments were going on, and I was honking. When that car left after about five minutes of arguments, I asked the Security man what the matter was. He said साहब

उन्होंने तीन आदमी बैठाए हुए हैं । मैं उनसे पास मांगता हूं तो वह कहते हैं कि मैं एम. पी. हूं , जानते नहीं हो तुम यह मेरे साथ हैं । मैंने कहा कि पास तो जरुरी हैं । तो उसको क्या-क्या गाली मिली हैं । cannot say that here. उसने कहा कि क्या हम गाली खाने के लिए खडे हुए हैं यहां पर । अगर इस तरह से वह ट्रीट होगा तो what he will do लेबल देखा चलो आगे । क्या करेगा , गाली खाने के लिए नहीं बैठा है वह । The people in uniform have to be respected for what they are doing. Until, Madam, we MPs begin to enjoy being frisked; until we begin to enjoy being subjected to the restrictions of security not tolerate, but enjoy situation will not improve. The other day, I was standing in a queue at the Delhi Airport. Two MPs were going. One of the MPs said, come on, let us go'forward. I said "I enjoy remaining in the queue'. So, unless you begin to enjoy standing in the queue, unless we begin to enjoy being frisked, unless we begin to enjoy the restrictions that are placed on the common man, the situation will not improve.

उपसभापति : सिंहल साहब , आपके तो तीन मिनट कब के खत्म हो गए ।

श्री नीलोत्पल बसु : वह अच्छा बोल रहे हैं ।

SHRI B.P. SINGHAL: Madam, I would make only two more points *...(Interruptions)...* Madam, many things are being said about the country being soft. Madam, on 31[81] of May, I sent a letter to the hon. Prime Minister because I felt that MPs were very soft targets. And when Parliament is attacked, any of the MP can be picked *up...(Interruptions)...*

उपसभापति : सिंहल साहब , सब लोगों को जवाब सुनना है ।

श्री भारतेन्दु प्रकाश सिंहल : एक मिनट दे दीजिए इस पोइंट को खत्म कर दूं ।

SHRI B.P. SINGHAL: I sent a letter to the hon. Prime Minister telling him that hereafter, if I am kidnapped, and, if I am held to ransom by a terrorist, I will expect my Government to storm the terrorist even if it means my destruction. I wrote this letter to the hon. Prime Minister endorsing a copy to all the MPs to like-wise write to the PM. Madam, you know, only five MPs responded. If the MPs cannot stake their lives for the nation, how do we expect this nation to be not soft? It will be soft. It will be as strong as we can make it. So, this is one point that I would like the Members of Parliament to reconsider. And, lastly, I would urge that we should see that all the unauthorised red and blue lights, that are flashed on the car, are removed not only in Delhi but also throughout the country. Thank you.

उपसभापति : श्री संजय निरुपम । संजय जी , आप दो मिनट बोल लीजिए ।

श्री संजय निरुपम : मैडम , आप घंटी मत बजाइयेगा , मैं खुद बैठ जाऊंगा ।

उपसभापति : घंटी तो बजानी ही पडती है ।

श्री संजय निरुपम : मेरा भाषण विस्तृत नहीं होगा । मेरे दो तीन सुझाव हैं । उपसभापति महोदया , सबसे पहले मैं आपका आभारी हूं जो आखिरकार आपने मुझे बोलने का समय दिया । पिछले दो दिनों से बहस चल रही है और दोनों दिनों की बहस को मैं गम्भीरतापूर्वक सुन रहा हूं । मौटे तार पर तीन बातें उसमें निकलकर आई हैं । पहली बात तो सुरक्षा अधिकारियों के बारे में जो बाहरी आशंकाएं थी वे सारी आशंकाएं खत्म हो गई हैं और सदन ने एकमत से जो पार्लियामेंट के सुरक्षा-रक्षक थे उनकी तारीफ की , उनकी प्रशंसा की ,उनको श्रद्धांजलि दी । दूसरी बात जो गम्भीरतापूर्वक निकलकर आई जिसको पूरे सदन ने माना और सरकार को उसने समर्थन दिया कि इस आतंकवादी घटना में पाकिस्तान का हाथ है और पाकिस्तान कहीं न कहीं शामिल है । लश्करे-तैयबा और जैशे – मोहम्मद कोई ज्यादा मायने नहीं रखते हैं वे हर साल नाम बदल सकते हैं, लेकिन पाकिस्तान और आईएसआई ये इसमें शामिल हैं,यह बात सदन ने मानी है । तीसरी बात जो सदन की तरफ से सामूहिक रूप से निकल कर आई है वह यह है कि भारत को निश्चित तौर पर एक सख्त कार्यवाही करनी चाहिए । वह सख्त कार्यवाही किस तरह की होगी उस पर मतभेद हैं, थोडे अलग-अलग विचार आए हैं । एक विचार युद्ध के संदर्भ में निकलकर आया है और वह यह है कि एलओसी क्रॉस की जाए । जो पाकिस्तान आक्युपाइड काश्मीर है उसमें जो टेरेरिस्ट कैम्प हैं, उन पर अटैक किया जाए, उन पर हमला किया जाए , उनको नेस्तनाबूद किया जाए । दूसरा विचार यह है कि अगर इस तरह के कदम उठाये गए तो न्युक्लियर वार हो सकता है,नाभकीय युद्ध हो सकता है और बहुत बडा हादसा हो सकता है, बहुत बडा खतरा हो सकता है । मेरा कहना है कि पूरे देश की ऎसी इच्छा है कि भारत सरकार को एक सख्त कदम आज उठाना चाहिए, इस परिसिथति में, इस संकट की घडी में । अगर युद्ध तत्काल सम्भव नहीं है, उसके लिए तैयारी करनी है तो युद्ध से पहले भी कुछ कदम उठाये जा सकते हैं । उसके लिए दो - चार सुझाव मैं अपनी तरफ से दे रहा हूं जो कि यहां दिए गए भाषणों में से आए हैं जिनको एकसाथ इकट्ठा करके मैं बता रहा हूं । पाकिस्तान के साथ हिन्दुस्तान को अब किसी भी तरह का सबंध नहीं रखना चाहिए । पाकिस्तान को आप अपना दुश्मन देश तत्काल घोषित कर सकते हैं इतने सबूत हमारे पास हैं , इतनी तबाही पाकिस्तान ने हमारे देश में मचा रखी है कि पूरी दुनिया में कम से कम एक मैसेज देने के लिए ,एक संदेश देने के लिए हम पाकिस्तान को ऎनीमी कंट्री डिक्लियर कर सकते हैं, घोषित कर सकते हैं । पाकिस्तान के ऊपर एक कूटनीतिक दबाव हमें स्थापित करना चाहिए, कूटनीतिक दबाव स्थापित करने के लिए, कूटनीतिक दबाव डालने के लिए निश्चित तौर पर पकिस्तान से संबंध तोड़ने चाहिए । जैसा कि कुलदीप नैयर साहब ने बताया कि पाकिस्तान से अपने उच्चायुक्त को वापस बुलाना चाहिए और जो यहां पर उनके उच्चायुक्त हैं,उनको भी वापस भेज देना चाहिए । आज पाकिस्तान के हाई कमीशन में लगभग तीन सौ कर्मचारी हैं ।मैं इन तीन सौ कर्मचारियों में से सबके लिए नहीं बोल रहा हूं, लेकिन इनमें से ज्यादातर आई. एस. आई. के एजेंट हैं । इन आई.एस. आई. एजेंट को पालकर रखने की हमें कोई जरुरत नहीं है, इन्हें वापस भेज देना चाहिए , कम से कम इनकी डाउन साइजिंग होनी चाहिए । अगर डाउन साइजिंग नहीं कर रहे हैं तो इन्हें हमेशा के लिए इस हाई कमीशन को क्लोज कर देना चाहिए । हमें किसी भी तरह का डिप्लोमैटिक रिलेशन नहीं रखना चाहिए । तीसरी बात है कि पाकिस्तान को हमने मोस्ट फेवर्ड नेशन का एक दर्जा दे रखा है । अलग – अलग देश दूसरे देश को देते हैं । हमने पाकिस्तान

को मोस्ट फेवर्ड नेशन क दर्जा क्यों दिया है? इसका क्या फायदा है? भारत चाहे तो मोस्ट फेवर्ड नेशन का दर्जा वापस ले सकता है । हमारा पसंदीदा देश पाकिस्तान आज की तारीख में नहीं है, इस समय नहीं है । . . . (**व्यवधान**) . . .

एक माननीय सदस्य : पहले था ?

श्री संजय निरुपम : कभी नहीं था । लेकिन समय- समय पर ऐसी सरकारें आई, ऐसे –ऐसे लोग आये , ऐसे-ऐसे प्रधान मंत्री आये कि उनके मन में पाकिस्तान के प्रति कुछ ज्यादा ही ऑबसेसन था और उस ऑबसेसन को दिखाने के लिए उसका प्रदर्शन करने के लिए इस तरह के कदम उठाये गए । मेरा सुझाव यह है कि एमएफएन का जो स्टेटस है उसको वापस लिया जाए । हमको पाकिस्तान की शक्कर नहीं चाहिए । समझौता एक्सप्रेस ट्रेन के बारे में बाकायदा इंटेलीजेंस की रिपोर्ट है कि उससे जाली नोट आते हैं , ड्रग्स आती है , उससे आईएसआई के एजेंट्स आते हैं , उससे आतंकवादी आते हैं , बावजूद इसके हम समझौता एक्सप्रेस ट्रेन क्यों नहीं बंद कर पाये ? यह मेरा प्रश्न है । माननीय गृह मंत्री जी और माननीय विदेश मंत्री जी यहां पर मौजूद हैं । जितनी जल्दी हो सके इस समझौता ट्रेन एक्सप्रेस को बंद किया जाना चाहिए । जो लाहौर की बस थी , बडी मशहूर बस थी , जिसको स्वयं आदरणीय प्रधान मंत्री जी लेकर गए थे, उस बस को अब बंद कर देने में ही भलाई है । ...(समय की घंटी)...

मैडम , मैं एक-दो बातें बताकर अपनी बात खत्म करुंगा । पाकिस्तान एयरलाइन्स जो हमारे ऊपर से , हिन्दुस्तान के ऊपर से ओवर फ्लाई करता है , उसे जो ओवर फ्लाइट की फैसेलिटी है उस फैसेलिटी को , उस सुविधा को भी खत्म किया जाए । अगर उस सुविधा को हम खत्म करते हैं तो पाकिस्तान एयरलाइन्स की फ्लाइट को आठ घंटे का नुकसान हो सकता है । अगर इस्लामाबाद इस तरह का कोई रिएक्शन देता है तो हमें एक-डेढ़ घंटे का नुकसान होगा । इसीलिए कि पूरी दुनिया को एक संदेशा देने के लिए कि पाकिस्तान एयरलाइन्स का जो ओवर फ्लाई हिन्दुस्तान के ऊपर से है उसे कैंसिल किया जाए । ऐसा नहीं है कि मैं ऐसा कोई पहली बार सुझाव दे रहा हूं और ऐसा भी नहीं है कि ऐसा कभी नहीं हुआ है । स्वयं इंदिरा गांधी जी ने 1971 के अंदर इस तरह का निर्णय लिया था , इस तरह का निर्णय लागू किया गया था । आखिरी बात कहूंगा । सिंधु नदी जल समझौता , जो इंडस रिवर ट्रीटी है , उस ट्रीटी के तहत , उस संधि के तहत , उस समझौते के तहत हम पाकिस्तान को बडे पैमाने पर पानी देते हैं ।

उपसभापति : घंटी बजाऊं क्या ?

श्री संजय निरुपम : मैं बस खत्म कर रहा हूं । आखिरी बात कहना चाहता हूं । उस संधि के तहत हम पाकिस्तान को पानी देते हैं । आज वह समय आ गया है कि उस संधि को रद्द किया जाए । महोदया , सुरक्षा परिषद के जिस प्रस्ताव की चर्चा कपिल सिब्बल जी कर रहे थे – 1,373 – उस प्रस्ताव में लिखा हुआ है कि कोई भी देश जिसके साथ आपकी ट्रीटी हुई है , संधि हुई है , अगर वह देश आतंकवादी गतिविधियों में शामिल है और आपके पास सबूत हैं , यदि आप उन्हें कह रहे हैं कि आतंकवादी गतिविधियों को बंद करो और वह नहीं मानते हैं तो किसी भी संधि को आप स्क्रैप कर सकते हैं । कम से कम आप अपने आपको वापिस ले सकते हैं । जिस दिन इस संधि को स्क्रैप किया गया , इस संधि को रद्द किया गया , पाकिस्तान में पानी का संकट पैदा हो जाएगा और पानी का संकट कोई साधारण संकट नहीं होता । पाकिस्तान अपने आप तबाह हो जाएगा । कहीं न कहीं पाकिस्तान के खिलाफ पूरे हिन्दुस्तान में और पूरे विश्व में संदेश देने के261

लिए और पाकिस्तान पर कूटनीतिक दबाव पैदा करने के लिए युद्ध से पहले कूटनीतिक कदम उठाए जाने चाहिए , यही मेरा आपके माध्यम से निवेदन है । धन्यवाद ।

उपसभापति : श्री ऐमादुद्दीन अहमद खान (दुरु) । आप दो मिनट में बोल दीजिए ।

SHRI AHMADUDDIN AHMAD KHAN (DURRU) (Rajasthan): Madam Deputy Chairman, I have just a few clarifications to seek. At the very outset, I wish to join my colleagues in condemning this act of terrorism and all acts of terrorism in this country; and also pay my homage to the martyrs. Madam, through you, I want to seek certain clarifications from the Home Minister. At a function held by the *Pioneer,* the Prime Minister had said, "This was very well planned at the heart of the nation; and at the Parliament." But I noticed the very next day, the Commissioner of Police saying, "The terrorists have first gone to the airport and finding that it was very well guarded, then, they came here." So, I think there is a bit of contradiction at the top level. I would be grateful if the hon. Home Minister clarifies this point.

The other thing which I would like to mention is about a report that appeared in the newspaper two days back that the car dealer who had voluntarily and immediately gone to the police with the photographs and the documents was held in custody for four days, and that his family was not allowed to see him and his lawyers were not allowed to see him. This was the report two days back. If this kind of treatment is meted out nobody is going to come forth in the near future and give voluntary information to the police. I would appreciate a comment on this.

The third clarification that I would like to seek is on the article written by our colleague, Shri Kuldip Nayyar on the I4^{m} December wherein he mentioned that the Watch and Ward staff told him during this period that there was a proposal to give them arms, but it had been lying with the Home Ministry for a long time. Now, is there any such proposal? If there is such a proposal, what is its position?

Lastly, I would like to say that a solution to terrorism is not only a law and order problem, is not only a military problem but is also a political problem. I would request the Government to kindly consider the political option also. Thank you very much.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If I see the list, there are many Members who want to speak. But the Charman Saheb has already come and it is already 5.45 p.m.

मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आज़मी (**झारखंड**) **:** दो मिनट के लिए अगर मुझे इनायत कर दें तो आपकी बडी कृपा होगी ।

उपसभापति : अभी चेयरमैन साहब आ गये हैं । आप उनके सामने बोल दीजिएगा । आप खडे हो जाइए । दिक्कत यह है कि दो मिनट में कोई खत्म नहीं करता ।

† **मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आज़मी** : मैडम , बहुत बहुत शुक्रिया । बहुत ग़मज़दा माहौल है । मैं सिर्फ अपने अहसासात को रखना चाहता हूं । 13 दिसंबर का हादसा हमारे मुल्क के लिए एक ऐतिहासिक चुनौती बन गया है । कुछ लोग मुल्क से पहचाने जाते हैं । हम उन शहीदाने-वतन को सलाम करते हैं जिन्होंने हमारे मुल्क को अपना खून-ए-जिगर देकर पहचनवाया है । दुश्मने हिन्द ने जिस तरह मुल्क की इज्जत को खाक में मिलाने की नापाक कोशिश की थी , उनके नापाक ख्वाब शर्मीदये-ताबीर नहीं हो सके और मादरे-वतन के सपूतों ने मुल्क की आबरु रखकर हिन्दुस्तान का सर फक्र से ऊंचा कर दिया है । हिन्दुस्तान को आजाद कराने के लिए जिस तरह मुजाहिदीन ए हिन्दुस्तान ने आजादीए हिन्दुस्तान पर अपने लखते जिगर , अपने जानोमाल की कुर्बानी देकर सलीबोरसन का फंदा चुमा था, आज हमारी नई नस्ल हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी को बचाने के लिए अपने बुजुर्गों के नक्शे कदम पर चलकर कुर्बान हो गई । मैं उन तमाम शहीदाने वतन को अभी यहां बैठे-बैठे सलामे अकीदत पेश करने के लिए कुछ चीजें लिख रहा था । मैं इस वक्त जजबात से बहुत ज्यादा भरा हुआ हूं । मैं सिर्फ यह कहना चाहता हूं कि देश की संसद बचाने वालो तुमको सद सलाम । इतिहास के पन्नों पर आने वालो तुम को सद सलाम । जान देकर दुश्मनों के दांत खट्टे कर दिए । मुल्क की इज्जत बचाकर इस जहां से हट गए । आसमाने हिन्द पर रौशन तुम्हारा नाम है , मादरे हिन्दोस्तां को शत शत प्रणाम है । दुश्मने हिन्द बाज आएं , बेहूदा काम से । हम जलाकर खाक कर देंगे निशानों नाम से । आजादिए हिन्दोस्तां को दाग लग सकता नहीं , मुल्क की इज्जत पे जो मरता है,मर सकता नहीं । हम मुल्क की इज्जत पर मरने वालों को सलाम पेश करते हैं और हम किसी पे इल्जाम लगाए बगैर यह कहना चाहेंगे कि हमारा दुश्मन बहुत चालाक है । हम अपने दुश्मनों की हर चालाकी का मुंह तोड जवाब देने के लिए हर कदम पर चौकस रहें और आपस में तमाम हिन्दुस्तानियों में अखूवत व मोहब्बत का पैगाम पहुंचाकर तमाम हिन्दुस्तानियों के दिल जीतें । हमारा दुश्मन खुद अपनी मौत मर जाएगा । खुदा करे हमारा मुल्क हमेशा जिंदा रहे , ताबिन्दा रहे , रौशन और पाइन्दा रहे , शुक्रिया , खुदा हाफिज ।

[**श्री सभापति पीठासीन हुए**]

गृह मंत्री (**श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी**) **:** सभापति महोदय, सबसे पहले मैं क्षमा प्रार्थाना करना चाहूंगा कि बहस के दौरान मैं उपस्थित नहीं हो सका । पहली बार ऐसा हुआ है कि इतनी महत्वपूर्ण बहस दोनों सदनों मैं एक साथचली है । सामान्यतः इस प्रकार की स्थिति में एक स्थान पर बहस होती है, उसके बाद दूसरे स्थान पर होती है । लेकिन कुल मिलाकर जब यह निर्णय हुआ कि दो-दो दिन तक बहस चलेगी तो यही उपयुक्त समझा कि दोनों सदनों में एक साथ बहस शुरू की जाए । मैं लोक सभा में वक्तव्य दूं और इस सदन के नेता मेरी ओर से उसी वक्तव्य को वहां दें और इसका उत्तर मैं दोनों सदनों में जाकर दूं । मैं उस सदन की बहस तो

† Transliteration of the speech in Penjian Script is available in the Hindi version of the debate.

पूरी सुन पाया इसलिए मेरे मन पर उसका गहरा प्रभाव हुआ । इस सदन में मैंने अभी – अभी कुछ भाषण सुने । मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी का भाषाण देख रहा था , उन्होने लगभग वही बातें कहीं जो मैंने उस सदन में कहीं ।यह ऐसा अवसर है जिसमें जिस उद्देश्य से मैंने वक्तव्य तैयार किया था और जो एक प्रकार से वक्तव्य के अंतिम पैरा में प्रकट होता है । पैराग्राफ- 10 में मैंने लिखा है, "The Prime Minister in his address to the nation on the 13th December, 2001 has declared that the fight against terrorism had reached a decisive phase. The supreme sacrifice made by the security personnel who lost their lives in this incident will not be allowed to go in vain." I would emphasise this. हम केवल होमेज पे नहीं करते, उनके प्रति केवल श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित नहीं करते बल्कि हम इस बात के लिए कृत संकलिप्त हैं कि यह जो बलिदान उन्होंनें दिया है वह व्यर्थ न जाए Those behind the attack on Parliament House should know that the Indian people are united and deter/nined to stamp out terrorism from the country. मैं मानता हूं कि यहां पर वक्तव्यों में भले ही सरकार की अमुक चीज गलत थी कि सरकार को ऐसा नहीं करना चाहिए था, ऐसा करना चाहिए था, इस प्रकार की आलोचना भी हुई हो तो भी कुल मिलाकर उस सदन में या इस सदन में जो भाषण हुए हैं उसमें यह बात कॉमन है कि टेरेरिज्म को स्टैम्प आउट करना चाहिए । उसके लिए अगर कठोर से कठोर कदम उठाने पडे तो वह भी उठाने चाहिए । मतभेद हो सकता है कि यह कानून होना चाहिए या वह कानून होना चाहिए । यह एक स्वाभाविक बात है, इसमे कोई बात नहीं है । लाइन ऑफ कंट्रोल क्रास करना चाहिए या नहीं करना चाहिए, ये सारी चीजें ऐसी हैं जिनका संबंध और फैक्टर्स से है इस इच्छा से वह संबंधित नहीं है । हरेक टेरेरिज्म को समाप्त करना चाहता है ताकि टेरेरिज्म इस देश में फिर से वैसा स्वरूप न ले जैसा उसने आज ले रखा है । जैसा मैंने आगे कहा है, पैराग्राफ आठ में कि Last week's attack on Parliament is undoubtedly the most audacious, and also the most alarming act of terrorism in the nearly two-decades-long history of Pakistan-sponsored terrorism in India. इससे ज्यादा और क्या हो सकता है? क्या कर सकते हैं? हत्याएं तो वे करते रहे हैं । यहां पर हत्या तो नहीं कर पाए लेकिन हमारे सुरक्षाकर्मियों को अपनी जान गंवानी पडी । लेकिन संसद पर आकर हमला करने का दुस्साहस करना इससे बढ़कर कुछ नहीं हो सकता है और यह उन्होंने किया है । इसीलिए इस चीज को ध्यान में रखकर मैंने कहा कि बाकी चीजों पर हमारे मतभेद हों भी लेकिन इस विषय में सारा देश एक है it is united. मुझे इस बात की प्रसन्नता है कि कुल मिलाकर दो दिनों की बहस, जो दोनों सदनों में हुई है उसमें से यह संदेश देश में गया है, दुनिया भर में गया है कि सारा देश इस मामले में एक है। इसीलिए हरेक वक्ता अपनी बात कहता है, आलोचना करता है लेकिन अंत में यह भी कहता है कि इस परिस्थिति का मुकाबला करने के लिए, टेरेरिज्म को समाप्त करने के लिए आप जो कदम उठाएंगे उसमें हम आपके साथ हैं, सरकार के साथ हैं । आप सोच-विचार कर कदम उठाइए, आप सारे पहलुओं को विचार करके कदम उठाइए ।सारे यही बात कहते हैं । अर्थात् हरेक को लगता है कि ऐसी स्थिति का मुकाबला करना पड़ सकता है जब देश की एकता सर्वोपरि रहेगी । देश की एकता और देश के संकल्प से बढ़कर और कुछ नहीं होगा । मेरे मतभेद किसी के साथ होंगे, आपके मतभेद मेरे साथ होंगे लेकिन इस समय देश की एकता जरूरी है । जब मैंने ओबैदुल्ला आजमी जी का आखिरी वक्तव्य सुना तो मुझे लगा कि इससे बढ़कर और क्या होगा । श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करते हुए उन्होने अपनी बात इस ढ़ंग से कह दी जिसमें यही बात व्यक्त हुई जो यहां पर कही गई है ।

इसमें तथ्य भी दिए हैं, थोडे-बहुत दिए हैं, सबने दिए हैं। हमारे कमिश्नर ऑफ पुलिस ने जो प्रेस कांफ्रेंस की थी उसमें बहुत सारी बातें कही थीं जो मैंने नहीं कही। मुझे नहीं लगता कि संसद में आकर मैं उन बातों को कहूं जिनका सीधा संबंध संसद या मोटे एप्रोच से नही है। दोनों संस्थाओं को मैंने नेम किया है, मैंने नाम लिया है कि इसमें हमारे पास जितने तथ्य आए हैं उसके आधार पर हम कह सकते हैं कि ये जो पांच स्युसाइड स्कवैड के सदस्य आए थे वे पांचों के पांचों पाकिस्तानी हैं। इनमें एक का नाम मोहम्मद है। उसका असली नाम क्या है, पता नहीं है लेकिन जिन्होंने उनके लिए सारी व्यवस्था की थी, तालमेल बिठा कर सारे ऐक्शन को कॉओर्डिनेट किया था उन्होनें जो नाम दिए हैं वे इस प्रकार से हैं : मोहम्मद,हम्जा, तुफैल, इसका दूसरा नाम हैदर भी है, राजा और राणा । ये पांचों पाकिस्तानी हैं, जिन पांच पाकिस्तानियों ने यहां आकर इस प्रकार से काम किया । मैं उन चीजों में भी नहीं गया जिसके बारे में लोगों ने पूछा होगा कि ये पार्लियामेंट स्ट्रीट से आए या विजय चौक से आए। ये बातें ऐसी हैं, जिनके सहारे, जो जांच कर रहे हैं, वह जा रहे हैं। सी.सी. टी.वी. एक बात कहता हैं। जो हमारा क्लोज सर्किट टी.वी. है, संसद में जो स्पीकर के यहां है, उसमें से एक वर्सन निकला है। लेकिन जो एक जनरल वर्सन स्वीकार हुआ है वह यह है कि वह तो विजय चौक से आए। लेकिन यह महत्व की चीज इतनी नहीं है, महत्व की चीज यह है कि इंटरनल अरेंजमेंट्स को मानिटर करने के लिए कहां गलती हुई। अगर गलती हुई तो ये कैसे हुई। कई लोगों ने अपने भाषणों में कहा, यहां पर भी और वहां पर भी कि सरकार को अगर पता था कि इस प्रकार का हमला हो सकता था तो आपने इस बारे में क्या कार्यवाही की। सरकार को पता था क्योंकि कहते हैं कि प्रधानमंत्री ने 12 तारीख शाम को जो मुंबई में कार्यक्रम था, उसमें इसका जिक्र किया था कि कौन जाने कल संसद पर हमला हो जाए। उन्होंने किन शब्दों में कहा, मुझे जानकारी नहीं। मैंने कहीं पर भाषण में कहा, उस सदन में कहा और एक बार बाहर भी कहा कि हम लोगों को महाराष्ट्र से सूचना मिली है कि एक सज्जन वहां पर ऐसे पकड़े गए हैं जिनका नाम है अफरोज। एक व्यक्ति पकड़ा गया है, मेरा भाव जो है वह व्यक्ति के नाते है। देवियों और सज्जनों करके हम सब को कहते हैं जो भी बैठा हुआ हो वहां पर । लेकिन वह व्यक्ति , जो पकडा गया है , उसने यह कन्फेश किया है , मैंने यह नहीं कहा कि मुझे कोई जानकारी है। मैंने कहा कि उसने जो कन्फेश किया है और जिस कन्फेसन को उसने कल कोर्ट में जाकर किया है , वैसे का वैसे किया है या उसमें फर्क है , इसकी मुझे जानकारी नहीं है क्योंकि डाक्युमेंट विद दि कोर्ट हैं। लेकिन हां , उन्होंने जो बात कही है वह चौंकाने वाली है। चौंकाने वाली इसलिए है कि 11 सितम्बर को जो घटना न्यूयार्क में हुई , वाशिंगटन मे हुई , हम समझते थे कि वह अमेरिका के लिए ही घटना की गई थी। लेकिन अफरोज के कहने के अनुसार इस प्रकार के सारे षडयंत्र का वह भी एक हिस्सा था। उनका काम था कि वह लंदन में जाकर वहां पर हाउस आफ कामंस पर हमला करें , इस दृष्टी से उनको आस्ट्रेलिया भेजा गया , उनको हवाई जहाज चलाने का प्रशिक्षण दिया गया , वहां से उनको फिर ब्रिटेन भेजा गया , ब्रिटेन से फिर उनको अमेरिका भेजा गया और सब स्थानों पर उनको हवाई जहाज चलाने का प्रशिक्षण देकर उनको इस टीम का हिस्सा बनाया गया , जिसका काम था जाकर वह हाउस आफ कामंस पर हमला करें। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि एक तीसरी टीम थी जिसके सुपुर्द यह काम दिया गया कि आप इंडियन पार्लियामेंट पर , नयी दिल्ली में जाकर इसी प्रकार का हमला हवाई जहाज से करो। वह पकडा गया अक्टूबर के महीने में और उसके बाद जो सूचना मिली , उस सूचना के आधार पर हमने आस्ट्रेलियन गवर्नमेंट को ,आस्ट्रेलियन इंटेलीजेंस से सम्पर्क किया , ब्रिटिश इंटेलीजेंस से संपर्क किया , एफ. बी . आई . को सम्पर्क किया , अमेरिका गवर्नमेंट को बताया , जिन जिन को बताना था बताया

6.00 p.m.

और अपने लोग भेजकर कम से कम उसका अपना जो वर्सन था , अपने बारे में कि आस्ट्रेलिया में इस स्थान पर मुझे प्रशिक्षण मिला , इतने दिन मैं वहां पर रहा , इन इन स्थानों पर रहा , उसको कन्फर्म किया और पाया कि वह सही है । बाकी चीजें सही हैं या नहीं हैं , इस निष्कर्ष पर अभी पहुंचे हैं लेकिन इस निष्कर्ष पर जरुर पहुंचे हैं कि उन्होंने अपने बारे में जो बताया था वह सही था । बहुत ही मामूली घर का वह व्यक्ति है जिसके पास इतने पैसे आ ही नहीं सकते थे । लेकिन पैसे आए , ग्रिन्डले बैंक से आए , इधर से आए , उधर से आए , ये सारी चीजें कंफर्म हुई और उसके आधार पर मैंने कहा कि भारत की संसद पर भी हमला करने की योजना थी । लेकिन मैं इससे आगे बढ़कर कहूंगा कि इनके अलावा भी बहुत सारे मिलिटेंट्स पिछले दिनों पकडे गए थे , 105 आई .एस.आई. के मड्युल्स पिछले दिनों बर्स्ट किए गए हैं । जिसमें से 15 दिल्ली में थे और जब वह लोग पकडे जाते थे तो खुद बताते थे कि हमारी योजना है , हम संसद पर भी हमला करेंगे किसी न किसी दिन । कोई दिन निश्चित नहीं , कौन हमला करेगा इसका भी पता नहीं लेकिन संसद भवन पर हमला करेंगे यह जो चिंता थी , यह चिंता व्यक्त हुई , हमारे सामने आई । स्पीकर साहब को बताया गया और स्पीकर साहब को बताने के बाद स्पीकर ने भी अक्तूबर के महीने में एक मीटिंग बुलाई और उस मीटिंग में एक एक्सपर्ट कमेटी नियुक्त हुई जिस कमेटी ने यह रिपोर्ट दी जिसके अध्यक्ष थे श्री सुरेश राय , ज्वाइंट कमिश्नर आफ पुलिस , नई दिल्ली रेंज , नई दिल्ली । उसके वह अध्यक्ष थे , एक्सपर्ट कमेटी में संसद भवन की सिक्युरिटी के लिए जो इंचार्ज ज्वाइंट सेक्रेटरी हैं, वह भी सदस्य हैं और इन सब लोगों ने मिल कर के बहुत गहराई से अध्ययन किया और इसमें लिखा हुआ है, कोई पढ़ ले तो लगेगा कि यह तो प्रोफेटिक है, इन्होंने तो पहले ही कहा था कि यह होगा, इस प्रकार से होगा । मैं इसमें से कोट नहीं कर रहा हूं । इसलिए कोट नहीं कर रहा हूं क्योंकि मैं जानता हूं कि अगर मैं किसी भी दस्तावेज़ को कोट करुंगा तो I would be under an obligation to place it on the Table of the House. I cannot do it because it is a secret document and the recommendations made by them, if they are accepted by the Speaker and by us, will be implemented. I would not like these recommendations to go to our enemies. I would not like it. लेकिन मैं इतना ही कह सकता हूं कि इसमें इन बातों का साफ उल्लेख हो जाना चाहिए कि आज जो हमारी व्यवस्था है, वह बहुतही फ्रेजाइल है । किसी दिन कोई कार आ जाएगी और एक दिन यह हो जाएगा कि कोई आ कर के कुछ भी कर सकेगा । यह सारी बातें कही गई हैं । इसलिए जहां तक सरकार का सवाल है, सरकार की ओर से इस बारे में जो भी सावधानी संभव थी, वह सावधानी बरती गई है । स्पीकर साहब को सारी रिपोर्ट दी गई है और स्पीकर साहब भी अपने ढ़ंग से कर रहे थे । मुझे जानकारी है कि पिछले सप्ताह लेफ्टीनेंट गवर्नर से भी उन्होंने मुलाकात की, कमिश्नर आफ पुलिस से भी मुलाकात की, उनसे चर्चा कर के उन्होंने कुछ बातें तय की थी जिसकी उन्होंने आज शाम मेरे जवाब के बाद उस हाऊस में घोषणा की । मैं इतना ही कह सकता हूं कि दुनिया भर में टेरेरिज्म का मुकाबला करने वाले जितने लोग हैं, सब से अधिक अनुभव शायद हिन्दुस्तान का है । अमरीका को तो अभी अभी हुआ है, ब्रिटेन को कुछ समय से है क्योंकि ब्रिटन को आई. आर. ए. के टेररिज्म का मुकाबला करना पड रहा है । लेकिन जब से ले कर के यह सुइसाइड स्कवैड डवलप हो गये हैं और टेररिस्ट आर्गेनाइजेशंस ने आत्मघाती दस्ते तैयार किये हैं तब से आत्मघाती दस्तों से बचना काफी मुश्किल हो गया है । इतना मुश्किल हो गया है कि मैं उसी के कारण कहता हूं कि

जो कुछ सुरक्षाकर्मियों ने भारत के संसद भवन में प्राप्त किया है, यह असाधारण है, अनप्रेसिडेंटेड है । न केवल उन्होंने पांचों के पांचों सुइसाइड स्कवैड में से किसी एक को भी अन्दर नहीं घुसने दिया लेकिन 20 या 25 मिनट में पांचों के पांचों को समाप्त कर दिया । यह कोई मामूली बात नहीं है, बहुत बडी बात है । I am not trying to cover up any lapses, if there has been any, on our part. इन फेक्ट मैं जिस वक्त आया था तब पंडा जी बोल रहे थे । वह जो कह रहे थे वह व्यावहारिक था । हम अपने आपको देखें, कितनी मात्रा में हम पालन करते हैं । हमको कैसे रियेक्शन होता है । मुझे पता है पिछले तीन-साढ़े तीन सालों में सिक्युरिटी के मामले को देखते हुए मुझे लगता था क्यों भाई वी. आई.पी. कहता है मुझे वहां पर भेजो, मैं हवाई जहाज में जाकर सीधा बैठूंगा, मैं बाहर क्यों उतरूं कार से । मैंने कहा कि बंद करो, इसको खत्म करो । can't understand. * यह नहीं होना चाहिए । हर एक उसमें से जाएगा जैसे बाकी लोग जाते हैं कई लोगों ने शिकायत की है हम इतने सालों से जाते हैं, आपने बंद कर दिया । मैं किसी का नाम नहीं लेना चाहता हूं लेकिन यह जो असुविधाएं पैदा होती हैं सिक्युरिटी के कारण उन असुविधाओं को स्वीकार करने को हमको तैयार होना पड़ेगा । हमारे यहां पर सिक्युरिटी इनवायर्नमेंट उस प्रकार का बना नही है, जिसकी बहुत जरूरत है । संसद के इस कांड के बाद मैं समझता हूं कि इस कमेटी की रिपोर्ट के आधार पर स्पीकर साहब स्वाभाविक है कि वे चेयरमैन साहब से भी सलाह करेंगे और वह जो निर्णय करेंगे, उसको हम शिरोधार्य करने के लिए तैयार होंगे। मैं इतना ही कह सकता हूं । अगर वह हो जाएगा तो फिर इस प्रकार की कार जो है वह अंदर आ जाए यह संभव नहीं होगा । कोई कहेगा कि कैसे उनके पास एम.एच.ए. का पास आ गया, होम मिनिस्ट्री का कैसे आ गया । यह तो आजकल ऐसा हो गया जैसे एक अखबार में ही लिखा था – मैं तो इंक्वायरी करने लगा था –तो मैंने अखबार में पढा कि उन्होंने हमारा जो वेब साइट है उससे डाउन लोड किया और डाउन लोड करके लगा दिया । कलर प्रिंटर से डाउन लोड करके लगा दिया All these things are of a nature which should be taken in their right perspective. वे सही परसपेक्टिव में ली जाएं ।

हां,सवाल आपने पूछे हैं । हमारे मित्र जसवंत सिंह जी ज्यादा अच्छा जवाब दे सकते थे जिन बातों का विदेशों से संबंध है । खास करके जब आज टेररिज्म के खिलाफ जिन्होंने वर्ल्ड कोलिएशन बना कर उसके ऊपर एक बहुत बड़ा हमला करने की घोषणा की है और हमला किया भी है, उनकी तरफ से इस प्रकार की घटना के बाद जब हमको कहा जाता है कि संयम बरतो तो सोचना पड़ता है । सोचना जरूर पड़ता है । मुझे स्वयं को याद है कि पिछली इस 11 सितम्बर के बाद या पिछले काफी समय में अमेरिका की ओर से –यह 11 सितम्बर के बाद की बात कर रहा हूं – मुझे जो भी मिला है उनसे बात करते हुए एक बात पर मैंने बल दिया । उन्होंने कहा कि भारत के लोग क्या सोचते हैं। मैंने कहा कि मैं समझता हूं कि आपको उसके बारे मे ज्यादा सोचना चाहिए । मैं भारत सरकार का प्रतिनिधि हूं, मेरे मित्र जसवंत सिंह जी भी भारत सरकार के प्रतिनिधि हैं , आप प्रधान मंत्री से मिले होंगे तो उनसे भी बात की होगी लेकिन आपको यह समझना चाहिए कि Like America, India is a live, vigorous democracy और यहां पर सरकार क्या सोचती है , सरकार की क्या प्रतिक्रिया है वह जितना महत्वपूर्ण है उससे ज्यादा महत्वपूर्ण है कि आम जनता क्या सोचती है । मैं आपको फ्रेंकली कहता हूं , हम आपकी मजबूरी समझते हैं कि आपको पाकिस्तान को अपने साथ रखना क्यों जरूरी है । आपकी मजबूरी यह है कि भूगोल का तकाजा है कि पाकिस्तान आपके साथ हो, ज्योग्राफी का तकाजा है । आपकी मजबूरी यह है कि पाकिस्तान ही ऐसा देश है कि जिसको तालिबान के बारे में अधिक से अधिक जानकारी

है और अगर आपकी लड़ाई तालिबान से है तो पाकिस्तान आपके साथ रहे यह आपको जरूरी लगा, यह मेरी समझ में आता है । आपका यह दृष्टिकोण भी सही है जिससे हम पूरी तरह सहमत हैं । हम विशेष रूप से सहमत हैं कि यह लड़ाई इस्लाम के खिलाफ नहीं है, यह लड़ाई मुस्लिम देशों के साथ नहीं है, यह लड़ाई आतंकवाद के साथ है । इसकी जरूरत आपको इतनी शायद नहीं होगी समझाने की , आप तो हेटिंगटन की थीसिस भी उठाकर चलेंगे तो आपको कोई घाटा नहीं होगा । हमारा घाटा होगा । हम इस बात को कभी स्वीकार नहीं कर सकते कि आपकी जो लड़ाई है वह लड़ाई इस्लाम के खिलाफ बन जाय, मुस्लिम देशों के खिलाफ बन जाय । यह आखिर तो भारत है जिस भारत के अंदर आज इंडोनेशिया को छोड़कर पाकिस्तान से ज्यादा मुसलमान हैं , बंगलादेश से ज्यादा मुसलमान हैं। शायद दोनों को मिलाकर हमारे यहां ज्यादा मुसलमान हैं । कोई दुनिया का दूसरा देश नहीं है एक इंड़ोनेशिया को छोड़कर जहां पर इतने मुसलमान हों और वे मुसलमान जितने हैं वे आतंकवाद के खिलाफ तो लड़ेंगे लेकिन इस्लाम के खिलाफ या मुस्लिम देशों के खिलाफ क्यों लड़ेंगे । इसीलिए आप जो यह एप्रोच अपना रहे हैं, वह एप्रोच मैं सही मानता हूं । इसीलिए भी आपको पाकिस्तान को अपने साथ लेना जरूरी है, मैं मानता हूं । लेकिन मैं आपको कहना चाहता हूं फ्रेंकली और मैने कहा भी उनको कि हिन्दुस्तान का आम नागरिक नहीं समझ पाता है। हिन्दुस्तान के आम नागरिक को लगता है कि आतंकवाद तो हिंदुस्तान मे पाकिस्तान लया था । पाकिस्तान के कारण हमारे 50-50 हजार लोग पिछले इन 10-15 सालों में मारे गए और पाकिस्तान आज इनका सबसे बड़ा हिमायती बन गया है । इनके लिए पाकिस्तान सबसे बड़ा हो गया है । उनको सब प्रकार की सहायता – वित्तीय सहायता – आप देने को तैयार हैं । उनकी इक्नामिक स्थिति इतनी खराब है । उसमें आप दे रहें हैं। हिन्दुस्तान का नागरिक तो यह सोचता है कि यह जो पैसा इनको मिल रहा है या जितने डालर मिल रहे हैं ये भी हमारे खिलाफ आतंकवाद में,कश्मीर में, हमारे लोगों को मारने के लिए जाएंगे । यह बात उनके मन में आती है । इसीलिए अभी तो मैं यह समझ सकता हूं कि अफगानिस्तान पर फोकस है । लेकिन अफगानिस्तान पर फोकस होने के बाद कोई समय ऎसा आएगा जब आपको यह पहचानना होगा कि सब से अधिक आतंकवाद अगर किसी ने भुगता है तो वह भारत ने भुगता है और पाकिस्तान के कारण भुगता है । यह बात समझनी होगी । औपचारिक रूप से हमेशा उनका उत्तर यही होता था कि हम आपकी बात को मानते हैं और हम इतना आश्वासन देते हैं कि आतंकवाद को समाप्त करने के लिए हमने जो युद्ध छेड़ा है वह केवल तालिवान के खिलाफ नहीं है, वह बिन लादेन के खिलाफ नहीं है, वह तो आतंकवाद के खिलाफ हमारी लड़ाई होगी चाहे वह कहीं पर भी हो । वह यह कहते थे । इसीलिए मैंने कहा कि जब अचानक एक दिन एक वक्तव्य आया कि भारत एप्रोप्रिएट एक्शन ले, तो यह तो हमको समझ में आता है, लेकिन दूसरे दिन आता है कि भारत को संयम अपनाना चाहिए तो इसमें थोड़ा सा मन में आता है कि क्या डबल स्टैंडर्ड होंगे, दोहरे मापदंड होंगे । वैसे मैं उम्मीद करता हूं कि नहीं होंगे । इस मामले में हमारे विदेश मंत्री जी ज्यादा अधिकार के साथ कह सकते हैं, जो मैं नही कह सकता, लेकिन इतना जरूर मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि आज, जबकि हम इस पक्के निश्चय पर पहुंचे हैं कि लश्करे तैयबा और जैशे मोहम्मद भारत की संसद पर अटैक करने के लिए अपराधी हैं, तो मैं उम्मीद करूंगा कि आतंकवाद के खिलाफ विश्व भर का जो कोयलिशन बना है वह खड़ा हो करके कहेगा कि केवलमात्र हम कंडेम ही नहीं करते हैं बल्कि हम चाहेंगे कि जिस-जिस देश में ये दोनों संस्थाएं काम करती हैं, वह-वह देश इनको प्रतिबंधित करें और इनके खिलाफ कार्यवाही करें और जो भी इनके नेता हैं उनको गिरफ्तार करके दंडित करें । इस पूरे कोयलियशन से यही दृष्टिकोण अपनाने की मैं अपेक्षा करता हूं । मैं और भी अपेक्षा करता हूं, आखिर

तो यह वही जैश-ए-मोहम्मद है, जिसने कि इसमें कफी भूमिका निभाई है, जिसके शाहबाज खान उर्फ गाजी बाबा जो कि प्रेजेंट चीफ कमांडर ऑफ जे.ई. एम. अर्थात जैश –ए-मोहम्मद हैं, उन्होंने मौलाना अजहर को प्लेन हाईजैक के सहारे छुड़वाया था ।ये दोनों आतंकवादी हैं और मैं अपेक्षा करूंगा कि ये दोनों और दाऊद इब्राहिम, इनको साथ-साथ भारत को सौंपना चाहिए । आखिर पाकिस्तान स्वयं आज आतंकवाद के खिलाफ जो विश्व युद्ध छेड़ा गया है ,उसका हिस्सा बना है । किसी ने अभी कहा ,शायद कुलदीप जी ने कहा कि वह वहां पर जो फंडामेंटलिस्ट हैं उनके खिलाफ कार्यवाही कर रहे हैं । कुछ लोग और भी कहते हैं, बहुत अछी बात है, लेकिन फंडामेंटलिज्म और कम्युनलिज्म ये दोष है, बुराइयां हैं, लेकिन Terrorism is something beyond that. टैररिज्म को कम्युनलिज्म के साथ कंफ्यूज नहीं करना चाहिए । Terrorism is barbarism. It is civilisation versus barbarism; or, at the most, you can say, it is democracy versus barbarism, versus terrorism. इसीलिए आज की परिस्थिति में जब संसद पर यह हमला हुआ है उसके बाद तो मै मानता हूं कि पाकिस्तान के रवैये में परिवर्तन आए । ठीक है, पहचान हो गई है कि टैररिज्म का नुकसान है । कभी-कभी मैं खबर पढ़ता हूं ,कहीं खबर आती है कि वहां पर होम मिनिस्टर ने और जनरल मुशर्रफ ने तय किया है कि जितने सारे मदरसे हैं उनका रजिस्ट्रेशन किया जाएगा,क्योंकि उन्होंने कहा है कि यहां पर जो शिक्षा दी जाती है वह प्राब्लम्ज क्रिएट करती है, इसीलिए हम उनको रजिस्टर करेंगे । यह जो कदम उठाए हैं, ठीक हैं, शायद दिशा बदल रही है, लेकिन दिशा बदलने का सबसे बड़ा प्रमाण होगा कि वह जम्मू-कश्मीर में, भारत में जिस प्रकार का टेररिज्म उन्होंने फैला रखा है, बेगुनाह लोगों की हत्याएं कर रहे हैं, उसको बंद करें । इस से बड़ा प्रमाण और कोई नहीं हो सकता । सभापति जी, मुझे याद आता है जब जनरल मुशर्रफ दिल्ली आए थे और तब जो चर्चा हुई थी ,उन से जो बातचीत हुई थी, अगर उस बातचीत में से कोई निष्कर्ष नहीं निकला,कोई सदपरिणाम नहीं निकला तो उस का सब से बड़ा कारण, और भी कारण थे, लेकिन सबसे बड़ा कारण सुबह का उन का टेलिविजन क व्याख्यान था जिसमें उन्होनें कहा कि जम्मू-कश्मीर में कोई टैरेरिज्म नहीं है । जम्मू-कश्मीर में तो एक स्वातंत्रय संघर्ष चल रहा है, एक आजादी की लड़ाई चल रही है और उस आजादी की लड़ाई में अगर पाकिस्तान उनका साथ दे रहा है,उन का सहयोग कर रहा है तो उसमें कौन सा बड़ा दोष हो गया । आप ने बांग्लादेश में मुक्तिवाहिनी को सहयोग दिया था । यह जो उन का भाषण था, यह जो उन का वक्तव्य था, वह एक प्रकार से सबसे बड़ा कारण बन गया उस सारी वार्ता को विफल करने का ।

सभापति जी , मैं आज प्रातःकाल कुछ भाषण देख रहा था तो मुझे लगा कि राज्य सभा में लोग मेरे वक्तव्य से बड़े निराश थे जोकि हमारे नेता ने पढ़कर सुनाया था । कहा गया कि बहुत ब्लेंक है,उसमें कुछ नहीं है । इस में आगे की कुछ बात नहीं बताई है । लेकिन जहां एक तरफ यहां सदन में लोगों को लगता था , शायद हमारी सरकार के आलोचकों को भी लगता था कि इस में तो कुछ नहीं है , that this is a blank statement, वहीं मैं ने आज 'द हिंदू ' में देखा कि, "Advani's Statement is Inflamatory: says Islamabad". इस्लामावाद को लगा कि यह तो एक उत्तेजक भाषण है, आग लगाने वाला भाषण है ।

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : गृह मंत्री जी , क्या इसके लिए इस्लामाबाद के सर्टिफिकेट की आवश्यकता है?

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : नहीं , मुझे नहीं चाहिए ।

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : आप के वक्तव्य से हम निराश थे और उत्तर से हम उदास हैं।

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : आप पूरी बात तो सुन लीजिए। सुरेश जी, मैं जिस संदर्भ में कह रहा हूं, मैं अपने वक्तव्य के बारे में प्रशंसा नहीं कर रहा हूं , मैं तो यह कह रहा हूं कि उस वक्तव्य को जब उन्होंने इनफ्लेमेटरी कहा, तो मैंने देखा कि क्यों इनफ्लेमेटरी है ? क्योंकि ,"Advani has held two Pakistan-based organisations, Jaish-e-Mohammed and Lashkar-e-Tayyeba, responsible for the Parliament attack and this is a prejudiced and biased allegation intended to defame the freedom struggle in Kashmir as terrorism". इन दो ऑर्गनाइजेशंन के बारे में उन का मत है कि ये दोनों तो जम्मू-कश्मीर में आजादी की लडाई लड़ रहे हैं और उन को उन्होंने संसद में हुए हमले के साथ जोडकर, वहां की फ्रीडम स्ट्रगल को बदनाम करना चाहा है। इसीलिए मैं तो दुनियाभर से कहूंगा कि आप फैसला करिए कि जैश-ए-मोहम्मद और लश्कर-ए-तैयबा ने यहां पर जो कुछ किया है और उस के जितने प्रमाण हैं, वह हमारे विदेशी मंत्री जिन को देना उपयुक्त समझें दे सकते हैं। उस में कोई दिक्कत नहीं है। हां, पाकिस्तान को देने का कोई सवाल नहीं है। पाकिस्तान के साथ मिलकर जांच करने का कोई सवाल पैदा नहीं होता है। इंटरनेशनल कम्युनिटी को इस बारे में कनर्विस करने के लिए जो कुछ भी करना होगा, वह करने को हम तैयार होंगे। क्योंकि हम इन दो संस्थाओं का नाम ले रहे हैं, इसीलिए एक प्रकार से हम जम्मू-कश्मीर के फ्रीडम स्ट्रगल को बदनाम कर रहे , मैं तो इस ओर ध्यान दिला रहा था। मेरा उस से संबंध नहीं है। आप मेरे इस वक्तव्य को अच्छा समझें, बुरा समझें , इस में मुझे कोई दिक्कत नहीं है। मैं सहन कर लूंगा क्योंकि मुझे कुल मिलाकर इस बात का पूरा संतोष है कि इन दो दिनों की बातचीत से जो संदेश जाएगा, वह वही संदेश है जो हम चाहते हैं कि यह देश आतंकवाद के खिलाफ एक है, आतंकवाद को समाप्त करने के लिए कृत-संकल्प है। उस में हमारे बीच में कोई भी कनटेंसियस इश्यूज नहीं आते। नहीं तो इस सदन में, इस सत्र में जहां पर कनटेंसियस इश्यूज इतने हो गए थे कि सदन की कार्यवाही नहीं चलती थी, वहां अगर एकता किसी ने लाई है तो इन दो दिनों की डिबेट से आई है। मैं उस के लिए आप सभी के प्रति आभार प्रकट करता हूं और इतना विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूं कि भारत सरकार आप की सारी बातों को ध्यान में रखकर ही आगे की कार्यवाही के बारे में निर्णय करेगी, कोई भी निर्णय जल्दबाजी में नहीं होगा, सब इन्पुट्स जितने हो सकते हैं, वह इनपुट्स प्राप्त करने के बाद निर्णय लिया जाएगा इतना आश्वासन मैं देना चाहता हूं।

श्री शरीफ-उद-दीन शरीक : सर, एक सवाल है।

श्री सभापति : नहीं , फिर यह सिलसिला शुरू हो जाएगा।

श्री शरीफ-उद-दीन शरीक : चेयरमेन सर, मेरा ख्याल है सभी लोंगो के जेहन में शायद यह बात नहीं आई कि इससे पहले कश्मीर की हुरियत कान्फ्रेन्स के एक लीडर ने प्रेस को कहा था कि अगले 24 घंटे में हम दिखाएंगे कि आइंदा क्या होने वाला है। उसके दूसरे चेयरमेन ने कहा था कि 24 घंटे नहीं , 12 घंटे में हम दिखाएंगे कि आगे क्या होने वाला है। उसके बारे में हम जानकारी चाहते हैं कि क्या इन्क्वायरी हुई ?

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : सर, अखबार में कहीं छपा है, जानकारी की जाएगी कि क्या उसका मतलब था, लेकिन आपने फिर से उसकी ओर ध्यान दिलाया है तो जरुर उसकी जांच की जाएगी।

श्री सभापति : बालकवि बैरागी जी चाहते हैं कि जैसे मौलाना ओबैदुल्ला खान आज़मी जी ने कहा, वैसे ही कुछ कविता के माध्यम से कहना चाहते हैं।

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : स्वागत है।

श्री बालकवि बैरागी : माननीय सभापति महोदय, मैं आपका बहुत ऋणी हूं, कर्जदार हूं, आभारी हूं कि आपने मुझे इस महत्वपूर्ण अवसर पर समय दिया क्योंकि इस समय सदन के नेता भी हैं, हमारे गृहमंत्री जी भी हैं, और आप भी आसन पर हैं। मुझे कुछ बोलना नहीं है, सिर्फ दस-बारह पंक्तियां पढ़नी हैं। इतना जरुर मुझे कहना है कि दोपहर में जब यहां पर बहस चल रही थी, इस बीच में यह हुआ कि जब प्रधानमंत्री जी, अटल जी बोले रहे थे तो उन्होंने कहा कि मैंने कविता लिखी , उसके बाद युद्ध हो गया। इस पर मैंने उनको प्रेरित किया था कि अब आप एक और कविता लिख दो ताकि मामला निपट जाए। उन्होंने मुझसे कहा कि यह काम मैं आप पर छोडता हूं। उनका जो दिया हुआ काम है, असाइनमेंट है, वह मैं पूरा कर यहां रख रहा हूं।

आदरणीय सभापति जी, ऐसे क्षणों में, जब हम मन से उदास भी हैं, हमारे लोग शहीद होकर चले गए और ऐसे बहुत महत्वपूर्ण और गंभीर क्षणों में हम आपसे आशीर्वाद लेकर जब विदा ले रहे हैं तब कुल मिलाकर मैं दस-बारह पंक्तियां पढ़ना चाहता हूं। सदन के मन की, देश के मन की, मेरे मन की और कई ऐसे लोगों के मन की बात, जो यहां भीतर आकर अपनी बात नहीं कह सकते, उन बातों को इन पंक्तियों के माध्यम से कह रहा हूं –

जब लोकतंत्र के मंदिर पर आतंकवाद के बादल हो,
बादल भी ऐसे वैसे क्या, हर बूंद बूंद से पागल हों।
तब हमें हमारी सांसों से आंधी अंधड़ लाना है,
छिन्न भिन्न कर बादल को मंदिर का मूल्य बचाना है।
जो अपनी जान गवां कर भी इस लोकतंत्र को बचा गए।
है नमन शहीद सपूतों को, लाहू से मेहन्दी रचा गए।
वे देख रहे हैं हम सब को, हम उनका श्राद्ध करें कैसे।
जो कर्ज हमारे सिर पर है, हम उसका मूल्य भरे कैसे।
इस मन्दिर के पावन मूल्यों से हम नहीं कोई छल छंद करें।
आतंकवाद से लडना है-आपस में लडना बंद करें।
जब तक मंजिल नहीं मिले कोई त्यौहार मनाना मत।
जब दुश्मन को पहचान लिया तो फिर से दोस्त बनाना मत।

धन्यवाद।

VALEDICTORY REMARKS

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hon. Members, the Leaders of various political parties and groups in the Parliament decided today that after the discussion on the attack by the terrorists on the Parliament, the House may now adjourn *sine die.* We are, therefore, adjourning the House accordingly.